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AN EPITOME  
" OF THE CASE OF  
**IRISH CORPORATIONS,**  
INTENDED  
FOR THE PERUSAL OF PROTESTANTS GENERALLY,  
AND ESPECIALLY SUBMITTED TO THE DISPASSIONATE JUDGMENT OF THE  
MEMBERS OF THE  
IMPERIAL LEGISLATURE.

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DUBLIN:

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1839.

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**IN the speeches, resolutions, addresses, and petitions submitted—for convenience, in this form—to the candid perusal of Protestants of all denominations, and to the dispassionate judgment of British Statesmen, will be found such views of the question, of Irish Municipal Reform, as, it is presumed, cannot fail of convincing any dispassionate mind of the danger of removing, or in any degree weakening, those ancient, loyal, and Protestant institutions which are, and always have been, devoted to British interests and to British connexion.**



## IRISH CORPORATIONS.

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In compliance with the order of the Chief Magistrate of this city, the Rt. Hon. the Lord Mayor, an aggregate meeting of the Freemen and Protestants was held on Friday, the 22nd of February, in the King's Room, Mansion-house, for the purpose of taking into consideration the present condition of the Protestants of Ireland, especially in reference to the proposed measure of municipal reform, &c., and to petition Parliament on the subject. The spacious room, as well as the platform erected for the speakers, was densely crowded long before the hour for taking the chair had arrived; and during the entire day a succession of citizens attended to take the places of those who, from fatigue or business, were compelled to leave the meeting, which was most crowded up to its close. A great number of gentlemen from distant parts of the country came up specially to attend upon the occasion.— Hundreds of persons were obliged to go away unable to obtain admission. The wetness of the day in no degree diminished the anxiety to be present at this

great meeting. The entrance through the Mansion-house was kept exclusively for the accommodation of the ladies, who thronged the extensive gallery surrounding the room, to the amount of upwards of eight hundred. The meeting altogether was considered to be one of the most numerous and influential assemblages which ever took place in the City of Dublin. The meeting, though highly enthusiastic, passed off with the most perfect good order and decorum. On the platform we observed the following :—

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, the High Sheriffs, (Grant and Taylor), Lord Viscount Gort, Dean of Ardagh, Sir Erasmus Borrowes, Bart., Sir J. K. James, Bart., Sir R. Baker, Alderman Perrin, Alderman Hyndman, Alderman Drummond, John Jones, Esq., Ex-Sheriff, Philip Jones, Esq., Bolton-hall, Sir G. Preston, J. B. West, Esq., G. A. Hamilton, Esq., Samuel Vesey, Esq., J. P., County Tyrone, C. Fox, Esq., late Member for Longford, Hugh Barton, Esq., Straffan, Anketell Moutray, Esq., Co, Tyrone, W Galbraith, Esq, Co. Longford, W Armstrong, Esq. John Whaley, Esq. B C Urquhart, Esq. D L Geo. Urquhart, Esq. M Collis, Esq. M D. Capt. Patterson, J Long, Esq. Robert Shaw, Esq. Capt. Cottingham, Messrs. Alexander, Carlow, Colonel Johnson, O A Tibeaud, Major St. Clair, Major Spread, Major O'Hara, Alderman Archer, Rev. C H Minchin, Rev. D Stewart, Rev. Edward Marks, Rev. W H J Lefanu, Major-General



Wahab, Rev. Thomas Gregg, Sir Thomas Whelan,  
 Sir George Whiteford, Alderman West, William  
 Beers, Esq. County Down, C P King, Esq. Trinity  
 College, Dublin, — Wyley, Esq. Rev. Courtenay  
 Turner, Patrick Flood, Esq. Thomas Johnston, Esq.  
 Longford, Captain Nash, Dr. Meyler, Rev. Thomas N  
 Irwin, County Meath, M S Maziere, Esq. Rev. William  
 Grove, Sir Edward Stanley, John Flood, Esq. Kil-  
 kenny, William Boyd, Esq. D Osborne, Esq. Edward  
 Tandy, Esq. W A Rawson, Esq. Athy, Simeon Boi-  
 leau, Esq. G W Boileau, Esq. J T Boileau, Esq.  
 Loftus A Bryan, Esq. Captain Odlum, Henry Swan-  
 zey, Esq. William Croker King, Esq. John Gibson,  
 Esq. J W. Scott, Esq. J P, Queen's County, Richard  
 Hawksworth, Esq. J P, ditto, W W Despard, Esq. J P,  
 ditto, W Scott, jun., ditto, Rev. Dr. Gwynn, James  
 Downes, Esq. Andrew Swanzey, Esq. Willmount,  
 Rev. Mr. Perceval, Rev. H Tuthill, Bride's, P Bayley,  
 Esq. Rev. C S Young, A G Lefroy, Esq. Rev. T Scott,  
 H Carey, Esq. Rev. H Stewart, Rev. Dr. Vesey, John  
 Alexander, Esq. Lorenzo Alexander, Esq. Carlow,  
 Rev. Dr. Martin, Arthur Stanley, Esq. H R Baker,  
 Esq. Rev. M Stannard, J Stanford, Esq. C S Gifford,  
 Esq. J Stewart, Esq. John Williamson, Esq. Robert  
 Wright, Esq. Richard B Alexander, Esq. Rev. George  
 D Debutt, W J Westby, Esq. D L, County Wicklow,  
 Rev. George C Baker, Currell Smythe, Esq. Thomas  
 C Hone, Esq. Rev. J D Hastings, Rev. Thomas  
 Moutray, County Tyrone, Rev. Samuel Eccles, Rev. Mr  
 Kingston, Rev. Mr. George, Rev. Dr. Neligan, Cork,

Rev. L G MacDonnell, Rev. A Ardagh, Wexford, Rev. A Miller, Captain Blennerhassett, John Smith, Esq. Shinrone, Henry Irwin, Esq. Ballinakill, William H Roe, Esq. Christopher Irwin, Esq. Ballinakill, W W Irwin, Esq. Fermanagh, S S Hunt, Esq. Limerick, William Swan, Esq. Wm T. Barlow, Esq. Bartholomew Vanhomreigh, Esq. R Kinahan, Esq. Rev. D Flynn, Rev. J Beatty, Bartholomew Mahon, Esq. Strokestown, W B Scriven, Esq. James Fenton, Esq. county Sligo, Rev. R Storey, County Tipperary, James Haire, Esq. Frederick Gordon, Esq. Liverpool, Richard G Anderson, Esq. Kilternan, Captain Bonner, Jas T Ffennell, Esq. Clonmel, — Jackson, Esq. Inverness, Scotland, Rev. John W Charters, Enniscorthy, Thomas Wright, Esq. Carlow, Ralph Clifford, Esq. Coolavin, Thomas F Navius, Esq. Waterford, Rev. Dr. Wall, F T. C D, Basil Orpen, Esq. Rev. Henry Tottenham, County Monaghan, Andrew S Harte, Esq. F T C D, Rev. Hugh Prior, T H Johnson, Esq. Clones, Rev. Richard George, County Meath, H. Montgomery, Esq. County Monaghan, Alex. Graydon, Esq.

At twelve o'clock, the Right Hon. the Lord Viscount Gort proposed that the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor should take the Chair, and that Mr. Ex-Sheriff Quinton should act as Secretary.

Passed with acclamation.

The Lord Mayor, on taking the chair, said—My Lords and Gentlemen, in consequence of having

received a numerously signed requisition, and in accordance with an act of the City Assembly, I have felt it to be my duty to convene this meeting (cheers.) I trust that every gentleman will be heard without interruption, and that each speaker will confine himself as much as possible to the object of this day's meeting (loud cheers.)

THOMAS J. QUINTON, Esq., ex-sheriff, rose amidst loud cheers, and said he thanked the immense assembly which he saw around him for their kindness in placing him in his present position. He would endeavour to the utmost of his power to merit their kind favour by a zealous and faithful discharge of his duty (cheers). He had received a great number of apologies from influential persons through the country, who were prevented from attending; but they all expressed the highest approbation of the objects of the meeting, and interest in the success of their present exertions (hear, hear). He thought it unnecessary to read the letters to the meeting; he begged now to read the requisition calling the meeting. Mr. Quinton here read the requisition.

The following are a few of the letters received by the secretary :—

“ Charleville, Enniskerry, Feb. 21, 1839.

“ Lord Rathdown presents his compliments to Mr. Jones; very urgent magisterial business, at which his presence will be indispensable, will prevent him at-

tending the Protestant Meeting on Friday next, the 22d; he takes this opportunity of observing, that there never was a period when Protestantism required more strenuous support than the present."

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" Westastin, Rathdrum, 21st Feb., 1839.

" DEAR SIR—Absence from home prevented my immediate reply to your favour of the 16th, relative to the meeting to be held at the Mansion-house.

" May I request you will be so good as to inform your committee, that I sincerely regret that I cannot attend the meeting on Friday. The Wicklow Grand Jury are to be sworn on fiscal business on Saturday morning, and my house will, in consequence, be full of company on the day previous.

" Fully aware of the importance of a good attendance on an occasion of such vital interest to every Protestant, and anxious as I am to comply with the wish of your committee, I cannot but lament the untoward coincidence of the day of meeting with that of my unavoidable engagement at home.

" Believe me, your faithful servant,

" WM. ACTON."

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" Drumbanagher, 19th Feb., 1839.

" DEAR SIR—I regret to say it is not in my power to go to Dublin for the meeting on Friday; but I



request that my name may be put to whatever petition may be resolved upon by the Protestants of Ireland.

“ I have the honour to be, yours faithfully,  
“ M. CLOSE.”

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“ 29, Molesworth-street, Feb. 16, 1839.

“ SIR—I regret that I am so circumstanced that it will not be in my power to attend the meeting in the Mansion-house on Friday next. The excellent address of the Corporation, which has been sent to me, I have just read, and I agree with the common council in thinking that petitions in accordance with it ought to be presented to her Gracious Majesty and both houses of parliament from every parish in Ireland.

“ I am, Sir, your faithful servant,  
“ J. MARTIN.”

(There were several others.)

JOHN JONES, Esq., then came forward to move the first resolution. He was received with loud and continued cheers. When silence was obtained, he read the following resolution :—

Resolved—“ That it is the firm conviction of this meeting that the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland owes its constitutional liberty and national greatness, under the Divine blessing, to that Protestantism which, having originated in the primitive church, was vindicated at the reformation, and established amongst us by the glorious revolution of

1688. That we are further convinced that, as our national power has grown with the maintenance of Protestantism, so would it decay and perish if we became indifferent to the true source from whence it has been derived, and by any tame neglect of ours ungratefully relinquish those means for its furtherance and defence which have been bequeathed to us by our forefathers as the most valuable legacy."

He then said—My Lord Mayor, Brother Freeman, and Gentlemen—The committee have kindly placed in my hands the first resolution to be submitted to this meeting, and I come forward with the most unfeigned gratification to move its adoption. It is a resolution, in every word and every sentiment of which I fully and conscientiously concur ; it is one which I am confident will have the unanimous and heartfelt approval of this most numerous assembly, and one which will be cordially and warmly responded to by every Protestant in the British Empire (cheers). It points out the true cause of that pre-eminence by which Great Britain is distinguished in the religious, in the commercial, and in the political world ; and, at the same time, warns us of the natural and inevitable consequences which would result from our neglecting to tread in the footsteps of our noble predecessors who, at the sacrifice of property and life, handed down to us those sacred institutions under which we have the happiness to live (hear, hear). I am, however, proud in believing that we estimate our privileges too highly to neglect their preservation ; and

that, if necessity should arise, we are ready, unitedly and firmly, to step forward at whatever personal risk in defence of the throne, the altar, and the British constitution (applause.) It has been said that the movement which has taken place in the corporation is confined to a few individuals, and these have been designated a "faction;" but when I look around on the present immense assembly, and witness the feelings by which it is actuated—when I see assembled on this momentous occasion so much of the wealth, the respectability, and the intelligence of this great city, and also so many strangers from all parts of the country, I cannot help feeling a kind of pity for our opponents, who, if they have any sense of shame left, must feel themselves indeed in a most miserable and woeful position (cheers.) When I say our opponents, I mean that temporising and time-serving set of professed Protestants, who affect to fancy our conduct is likely to divide and weaken the Conservative interest. This is what they allege; but I cannot help thinking they have other and private reasons for wishing to deter us from the prosecution of our object—reasons founded on a wretched and calculating self-interest, which seeks to serve its own ends, regardless alike of principle, of consistency, and of the interests of the country (hear, hear, and loud cheers.) In spite of their efforts, however, the question of municipal reform is beginning to assume an importance which few were prepared to expect; it is now clearly perceived to be identical with the existence of the Protestant church in this country; and it will, therefore, be regarded with



still more interest as we proceed. There is nothing like a little wholesome agitation. We have already begun to witness the effects of it; this day shows us the benefit of it, and we will keep it up (cheers). We will agitate and combine; and we will raise our cry for "justice for Ireland," until it spread through the country, and resound through both houses of parliament; and if that do not produce the desired effect, it shall be followed by a simultaneous shout of "no surrender," which shall be heard in the inmost recesses of the palace, and which shall command the attention even of majesty itself (loud cheers, and cries of no surrender.) A recent traveller in Greece mentions, that when he came to the fatal spot where Leonidas and his gallant little band devoted themselves to the cause of their country and of liberty, animated by the surrounding scenery, he called aloud—Leonidas! Leonidas! but there was none to answer—there was not left even the ghost of freedom to mark where her followers had bled! But it is not thus with us. We are rather reminded of the thunder among the mountains of the north, echoing from hill to valley, and from valley to hill, to the delight and admiration of the listener—for, so dear are the interests of our holy church to every Protestant, that in times of danger we have only to raise a shout of "no surrender," and the sound reverberates in the breasts of her children from one end of the assembly to the other (continued cheers). Yes, and I am persuaded it will find an echo in every loyal and Protestant breast from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear, and from the Land's End, in Cornwall,

to John o'Groat's (cheers.) In appealing to our brethren throughout the empire we rest the strength of our case on religious principle; but, as our resolution states, with this principle are identified commercial importance and national greatness (hear, hear). It cannot, I should suppose, have escaped the observation of any reflecting mind that it was at the period when the reformation first dawned in England that the extraordinary commercial power of that country began to be developed. It was when the mighty mind of Bacon burst through the trammels of the schoolmen, and opened the door which led to true philosophy—when Shakspeare conceived and described every sublunary nature—when Milton soared beyond the bounds of ordinary existence into the regions of sublimity and beauty—when the disciples of Luther were enabled, uninterruptedly, to preach sound and genuine Christianity—in a word, it was when civil and religious liberty was first established in our happy country that was laid the foundation of that stupendous commercial power which is felt and acknowledged in the remotest corners of the earth, and which continues to be the admiration and envy of surrounding nations (cheers). As the beams of literature and science shed their vivifying influence—as the production of the great “master spirits” became more known and appreciated—and as the fire of their genius and their piety kindled other lights more numerous, though less brilliant, the commerce, the arts, and the manufactures of Great Britain kept pace with the progress of mental improvement—the wealth of the

nation increased—its energies became heightened, and its power augmented to a degree unknown in any former history of the world (cheers). But, as our resolution reminds us, should the original elements of the reformation be neglected—should the national mind be lulled into a false security—should the light of Protestantism, from the supineness of our rulers, or from any other cause, be allowed to be extinguished, the moral causes which led to the unprecedented power of Britain will cease—the physical effects which they have produced will sink into decay—the foundation of her power will be removed, and her greatness will pass away—but “not like the baseless fabric of a vision,” for it will leave a tremendous and fearful wreck behind (great cheering). I am, however, under no serious apprehension of this. Our Protestant institutions are based on a rock firm and immutable (hear, hear). Temporary discouragements may arise, but they will only excite additional vigilance, and call forth latent and unthought of energies; and in the end there is not a shadow of doubt but that truth will triumph over error—that Protestantism will reign transcendant in England, and gradually spread through the world, carrying in its train constitutional liberty, social dignity, and individual happiness (cheers). In the mean time a great and awful responsibility will rest on the rulers of that country to protect and preserve those sacred institutions which have been committed to their charge; for as they adhere to principle, or as they yield to “expediency,” so in proportion will Great Britain advance



or recede in the scale of nations, and become a theme of praise or a bye-word of reproach (hear, hear.) But, as I said before, I have no doubt of the ultimate result (hear.) On the House of Lords, at this particular juncture, our dependence and hopes are peculiarly fixed.— That branch of the legislature is essentially Conservative, and to it we look to curb and restrain that levelling and transferring mania which has of late been so much encouraged, and which has already made such numerous and dangerous innovations on our sacred and Protestant institutions (cheers.) I am convinced the lords see the impolicy of any further concession, and when they find the Protestants of Ireland coming forward as one man to express their firm, decided, and unconquerable resolution to stand by the constitution, they will at once respond to it, and nobly place themselves in the gap, and prove themselves worthy, as they have ever done, of the high and important station which they hold in the government and legislature of this great and mighty empire (cheers). Reports are rife on the subject of a change of ministry; and I hope the time is not far distant when the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel will take the reins of government; but I am convinced the only chance of their retaining power is for them to erect a standard on high church principles (cheers.) The country is anxiously looking to them for this, and if they are so happy as to seize the golden opportunity, they will find themselves supported by a force, whether as regards numbers, respectability, intelligence, or principle, such as never

fell to the lot of any former ministry (hear, hear). It is our duty to impress this on them, and the way to do this effectually is to call forth public opinion by every possible means (hear, hear.) We have carried two excellent addresses through the Corporation, and I am happy to say, without a dissentient voice—one to our Protestant brethren of the United Kingdom, and the other to the Conservative members of both houses of parliament. Those we have distributed by thousands, and I do not hesitate to say that whether we preserve our existence or not—whether we sink or swim—those addresses will do the Corporation immortal honour, and must produce a powerful effect on the public mind (cheers). I could expatiate at great length on the reaction in our favour. The *Morning Herald*, and many other London journals, are simultaneously advocating our cause, and all the Conservative papers of this city are beginning to open their eyes to their own interest, and are voluntarily offering us their congratulations on the almost certainty of success which is now evidently opening on us (cheers.) I say I could expatiate on all these matters, but I will not stand in the way of the many eloquent and learned gentlemen who I know are ready to address this most numerous and incalculably important meeting. I shall merely remark, in conclusion, that our prospects are heightening to a degree far beyond our most sanguine expectations, and that I have now no doubt that if we do our duty—if we unite and go forward with a bold and determined resolution we shall arrest the progress of the contemplated pernicious measure, and still preserve our

Corporations for the purposes to which they have hitherto been subservient, viz.—the maintenance of British connexion, and the extension of the principles of the reformation (loud cheers, which lasted for some time, with waving of hats and the Conservative fire.)

Sir RICHARD BAKER said that, after the very eloquent speech of his excellent friend, it would be presumptuous in him to occupy their time further than most cordially to second the resolution (cheers.)

Mr. GEORGE ALEXANDER HAMILTON, on appearing in front of the platform, was received with the most gladdening plaudits. When the applause had subsided, he stated that, having for many years past devoted a greater portion of his time to public matters than he felt compatible with his other duties, and having, he could truly say, given himself up entirely, both as to his time and thoughts, to his duties during the period when he filled the high and responsible office of a representative of Dublin in parliament (hear); since he had been thrown back into private life, by a decision which he should always characterise as unjust (hear, hear), it was his anxious desire to apply himself to his occupations as a country gentleman, and to avoid, as far as possible, involving himself again in the vortex and anxieties of public life (cheers). But on an occasion like the present, when the freemen of Dublin are called together by their chief magistrate, to discuss an important public question—a question materially affecting their rights and interests—he should be want-



ing in the respect which he entertained for the Lord Mayor, in the gratitude he felt, and should always feel, to the freemen, and in duty to himself and the position he had held, if he was to abstain from taking part in those discussions (loud cheers). It had never been his habit to shrink from the expression of his honest opinions (hear, hear) ; he had always expressed them openly, even in the face of his political opponents (hear) ; and he was not going to withhold them now in reference to the measure before them (hear, hear). In the year 1836, when the subject of municipal reform was under deliberation in parliament, he had stated, in his place in the House of Commons, that the real question was not the management of twenty or thirty thousand a-year, or the right of self-government, or the assimilation of institutions, though these might be the pretexts of a party ; but that the real question at issue was, whether we could afford, by the reconstruction of the corporations, to advance the principle of democracy in Ireland—whether increased power should be given to the democratic influence, and increased means afforded for advancing and perpetuating that baneful system of agitation which had paralysed the energies of Ireland, and was keeping her back in civilisation and prosperity (loud cheers). And again, in the following year, when the same subject was under discussion, he had stated that the measure was supported by two classes of persons—those who were anxious, and who avowed themselves anxious, to democratize the British constitution (hear)—and those who were seeking to strengthen the Roman



Catholic-interest, with a view, first, to the subversion of the Established Church, and afterwards, to other and ulterior objects (cheers) ; and that it was precisely because he thought the one ought to be strongly resisted, and the other strenuously restrained, that he felt himself compelled to vote against the measure (loud cheers). Such being his opinions, openly expressed in his capacity as their representative, in the year 1836 and 1837, he had only to add that he had seen nothing to alter them since (cheers). He remained of the same opinion still (cheers)—and whether in parliament or out of parliament, he should offer his most strenuous opposition to any measure that appeared to him to have a tendency to injure the Protestant institutions, to strengthen the Roman Catholic interest, or to advance the democratic principle among the enemies of the constitution in Ireland (loud cheers.) Having said so much with respect to himself and his own opinions, which would be unimportant except for the high station which he had filled, he would now venture to say something with respect to the position in which the Conservative party was placed, in reference to municipal reform (hear, hear). Certainly that position was a difficult one. It was not, perhaps, easy for gentlemen here in Ireland fully to understand or appreciate the difficulties and perplexities with which it was surrounded. Formerly the Conservative party had endeavoured, and ineffectually endeavoured, in a Radical House of Commons, to sustain the corporations as at present established (hear, hear). Then

they had tried the proposition of extinction as an alternative preferable to re-construction on Radical principles (hear, hear), but in that likewise they had failed. Year after year that obnoxious measure had been forced through the House of Commons, and sent up to the Lords with all its imperfections (hear, hear). There, indeed, it had been resisted and overthrown, for so far, by the firmness of the Peers of England (cheers). But let gentlemen consider how difficult it was for the House of Peers to continue to resist a measure supported by increasing majorities in the House of Commons, comprising in them even a portion of the English Conservative members, and supported likewise by the weight of government. Was there no danger, then, that even the Peers might not ultimately be forced to accede to it (hear, hear). ¶ Such, at least, may have been the arguments which induced the Conservatives in parliament to alter their tactics, and, consenting to the re-construction of the corporations, to fight the battle upon the franchise. That he (Mr. H.) thought was the state of things at present, and he had adverted to it, not for the purpose of discussing its policy, but in order to point out to the meeting what appeared to him the most effective means of resisting the present measure (hear, hear). Certainly it was not, and could not be, the intention of any of the Conservative party to augment the influence of Mr. O'Connell and his party in this country. Convince them, then, that the measure of municipal reform must necessarily have that effect. Apply yourselves to the ques-

tion of the franchise. Inquire into, examine, and point out its effects and bearings. Show them that, in Dublin, with a £5 or an £8 or a £10 franchise, the predominance will be given to the agitators, that you will have a Roman Catholic Lord Mayor, Roman Catholic Town Councillors, that this ancient and loyal Protestant Corporation will be converted into a legalised Precursor Society (cheers), and that an institution, framed originally for the maintenance of the British connexion, and for upholding the Protestant institutions, will be used as a means of severing the one and overthrowing the other (cheers). Show them this, and the Conservatives of England will not be inattentive to your appeal. My lord, I have directed my attention to the matter during the last few days, with a view of satisfying myself how far this can be ascertained; I have been examining the various data or means of information which have presented themselves to me, and although I cannot take it upon me to say that I can furnish you with more than an approximation to an exact statement of the result, I think I can adduce enough to satisfy you, or any one, that if the franchise be five pounds, Dublin will be handed over completely to the Precursors, and that, even if £10 be the franchise, they will produce an undue and dangerous predominance. The first document which would naturally present itself would be the poll-book of the late election. There are two classes of voters in Dublin, who may be looked upon as persons qualified either under the £10 or £5 franchise to vote at municipal elec-



tions—the £10 leaseholder and the £10 householder. The proportion of those who voted for the Radicals and for the Conservatives at the late election, about three to one, will afford some sort of criterion of the issue of the municipal elections ; but as these documents have been taken up by another gentleman, who will exhibit to you the results, I will not trouble you with the details at present. But there are other means by which you may arrive at a tolerably just result, and to them I ask your attention. There are two public documents, my lord, formed for other purposes, and the comparison of the two may enable us to come something nearer to a conclusion. The first is, the valuation called “ Sherrard’s Valuation ;” and the second is, the Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction. The latter gives the population of each parish, with its division into Roman Catholic and Protestant ; and the former gives the number of houses in each parish, classified according to their value, from £5 upwards. While the former, therefore, gives you the number of Protestants and Roman Catholics, the latter will give you the number of voting and non-voting houses in each parish (hear.) Next, by dividing the total population by the number of houses in each parish, you will obtain the average population per house ; and if you divide the number of Protestants by the average population per house, you will obtain the number of Protestant houses, not perhaps exactly, but with sufficient accuracy for my present purpose, and so also with respect to the number of Roman

Catholic houses (hear, hear.) We have now got the number of voting houses in each parish, and the number of Protestant and Roman Catholic houses respectively. Next let us suppose, though we have no right to suppose it, for it gives us an advantage that would not be borne out in fact—let us, however, suppose that all the Protestant houses in each parish are voting houses, and notwithstanding the advantage we have taken to ourselves, let us see how the matter would stand. The tabular statement I hold in my hand will exhibit the result of the municipal elections in each parish at a single glance; and it will be seen from it, that with a £5 franchise—supposing all the Protestants of all denominations to act together—supposing all to register, and supposing all to live in voting houses—the Roman Catholics would predominate immensely in every parish in Dublin, without one single exception (hear, hear). I have prepared a similar table for the £10 franchise, and even in that case the Protestants would preponderate only in two out of the twenty-one parishes—namely in the Parish of St. George and Grange Gorman—(hear, hear.) The following is the tabular statement in respect to the £5 franchise:—

No.	NAME OF PARISH.	POPULATION.			Total Number of Houses.	Average Population per house.	HOUSES IN RESPECT OF				VOTING HOUSES.	
		Protestant.	Roman Catholic.	Total.			RELIGION.		VALUE.		Protestant.	Roman Catholic.
							Protestant.	Roman Catholic.	At and under £5.	Above £5.		
1	St. Peter and St. Kevin	10507	18179	28686	2260	13	808	1452	209	2951	808	1243
2	St. Mark	3403	11519	14922	1076	14	243	833	118	958	243	715
3	St. Anne	3242	3980	7222	785	9	360	425	..	785	360	425
4	St. Andrew	2611	4665	7376	731	10	261	470	2	729	261	468
5	St. John	911	3440	4351	291	15	61	230	12	279	61	218
6	St. Werburgh	1218	2238	3456	214	16	76	138	1	213	76	137
7	St. Bridget	3786	8131	12117	732	16	237	495	9	723	237	486
8	St. Michael	285	2003	2288	112	20	14	98	6	106	14	92
9	St. Nicholas Within	512	1425	1937	103	19	27	76	2	101	27	74
10	St. Nicholas Without..	1641	11444	13085	871	15	109	762	124	747	109	638
11	St. Patrick	567	1507	2074	123	17	33	90	5	118	33	85
12	St. Andrew	973	3748	4721	426	11	88	338	23	403	88	315
13	St. Catherine	4466	13334	17800	1264	14	319	945	113	1151	319	832
14	St. Luke	960	5645	6605	337	20	48	289	15	322	48	274
15	St. James	2446	8591	11037	625	19	129	496	174	451	129	322
16	St. Thomas	7307	14596	21903	1373	16	457	916	130	1243	457	786
17	St. George	6829	9184	16013	1261	13	525	736	189	1072	525	555
18	St. Mary	6655	17771	24426	2018	12	554	1464	57	1961	554	1407
19	St. Michan	3077	20849	23919	1464	16	192	1272	93	1371	192	1179
20	St. Paul	2444	8126	10570	786	13	188	598	90	696	188	508
21	Grange Gorman	1476	4389	5865	472	12	123	349	192	280	123	157
		65316	174957	240273	17324		4852	12472	1564	15760	4852	10918

## SIMILAR STATEMENT WITH REFERENCE TO THE £10 FRANCHISE.

No.	NAME OF PARISH.	POPULATION.			Total Number of Houses.	Average Population per House.	HOUSES, IN RESPECT OF RELIGION.					VALUE.		VOTING HOUSES.		
		Protestant.	Roman Catholic.	Total.			Protestant.	Roman Catholic.	Atk under £10.	Above £10.	Protestant.	Roman Catholic.				
1	St. Peter and St. Kevin,	10507	18179	28686	2260	13	808	1452	399	1862	808	1054				
2	St. Mark,	3403	11519	14922	1076	14	243	833	235	841	243	398				
3	St. Anne,	3242	3980	7222	785	9	360	425	17	768	360	408				
4	St. Andrew,	2611	4665	7276	731	10	261	470	17	714	261	453				
5	St. John,	911	3440	4351	291	15	61	230	36	255	61	194				
6	St. Werburgh,	1218	3238	3456	214	16	76	138	7	207	76	131				
7	St. Bridget,	3786	8331	12117	732	16	237	495	66	666	237	429				
8	St. Michael,	285	2003	2288	112	20	14	98	17	95	14	81				
9	St. Nicholas Within,	512	1425	1937	103	19	27	76	8	95	27	68				
10	St. Nicholas Without,	1641	11444	13085	871	15	109	762	217	654	109	545				
11	St. Patrick,	567	1507	2074	123	17	33	90	31	92	33	59				
12	St. Audcon,	973	3748	4721	426	11	88	338	..	367	88	279				
13	St. Catherine,	4466	13334	17800	1264	14	319	945	352	912	319	593				
14	St. Luke,	960	5645	6605	337	20	48	289	111	226	48	178				
15	St. James,	2446	8591	11037	625	19	129	496	264	361	129	232				
16	St. Thomas,	7307	14596	21903	1373	16	457	916	221	1152	457	695				
17	St. George,	6829	9184	16013	1261	13	525	736	293	968	525	443				
18	St. Mary,	6655	17771	24426	2019	12	554	1465	192	1826	554	1272				
19	St. Michan,	3077	20842	23919	1464	16	192	1272	252	1212	192	1020				
20	St. Paul,	2444	8126	10570	786	13	188	598	180	606	188	418				
21	Grange Gorman,	1476	4389	5865	472	12	123	349	245	223	123	100				
		65316	174957	240273	17324		4852	12472	3922	14102	4852	9250				

I am aware it may be said that the returns of the commissioners of public instruction are incorrect, and that the average population, per house, probably, is



different as regards Protestants and Roman Catholics. I admit that my calculation may be incorrect to a certain extent in both those respects, but still I say the incorrectness is more than counterbalanced by the supposition that all the Protestants live in voting houses, and that all the Protestants of all denominations vote together in support of the constitution. I think, therefore, that, grounding my opinion upon these documents alone, and considering the proportion which Protestant property bears to Roman Catholic property in Dublin, I am warranted in asserting that the municipal reform bill will give an undue and an unwise preponderance to the Roman Catholic party (hear, and cheers). I have to thank the committee for permitting me the opportunity of addressing the meeting at so early a period; I solicited the favour from having an engagement elsewhere at one o'clock, and have only to add, that I shall always be found, whether in parliament or out of parliament, in public or in private, zealous in support of our Protestant institutions (loud cheers).

Sir N. W. BRADY proposed the next resolution, as follows :—

“ Resolved—That the miseries of Ireland are to be attributed to the prevalence in it of a system which the laws themselves designate as superstitious and idolatrous—a system, for the overthrow of which our

forefathers joyfully committed their bodies to the flames, and endured the loss of all things, and which has produced, in every country in the world where it has prevailed, either tyranny and despotism, or anarchy and confusion.”

The Rev. T. D. GREGG then came forward, and was received with the most enthusiastic cheering, which continued for a considerable time ; nothing could exceed the warmth of his reception. At length he said, addressing the Lord Mayor and the assembly, that although the very excellent alderman who had preceded him had read the resolution twice, he conceived it was so valuable that it would be well to read it a third time. [The rev. gentleman then read the resolution.] He was quite convinced, from the tone of that meeting, and from the principles of those who composed it, that it would be unnecessary for him, or any one, to say a single word in support of the truth of the resolution ; for, if it were proposed merely upon its own merits it would with acclamation receive the approbation of every one of them. Nevertheless, while this was the case he thought it might not be unimportant to dwell a little upon the subject before them, and to show them that it was founded upon the truth so far as the allegation with respect to their laws ; and it must be true also as respected the alleged consequences resulting from that system, Popery, to which the resolution alluded. It was too much for-

gotten, perhaps, by many of those who dealt with the public, that they were, to a certain degree, in advance of their adversaries, with respect to the great question between them. They should remember that the laws of the land had spoken, and that the governors and authorities were pledged to pay obedience to those laws. The Queen was but the first magistrate in the land; all her ministers were subordinate to her; and as it was the duty of every Christian subject, when he found one of his neighbours violating the established laws—for example, committing an assault upon another—simply, without any warrant, to put him into the hands of the ministers of justice; so was it their duty to take the existing laws as the standard for their conduct; and if they found kings, princes, dukes, marquises, earls, or prime ministers, setting those laws at nought, they were bound to speak their sentiments boldly, and prevent, if possible, the disastrous disregard and violation of truth and of the laws (cheers). They should remember that their laws were not merely with respect to conduct, but also principle. The Book of Common Prayer and the Homilies were the law of the land, established by the first of Elizabeth. Here was the language of the Homilies the language of the law, which their executive was bound to attend to, and which the Queen was bound to make the rule of her conduct with respect to Popery; “Not only the unlearned and simple, but the learned and wise; not the people only, but

the bishops; not the sheep, but also the shepherds themselves (who should have been guides in the right way, and lights to shine in darkness), being blinded by the bewitching of images, as blind guides of the blind, fell into the pit of damnable idolatry, in the which all the world, as if it were drowned, continued, until our age, by the space of eight hundred years unspoken against in a manner; so that laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children, of all Christendom—an horrible and most dreadful thing to think—have been at once drowned in an abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested of God, and most damnable to man” (hear, hear). These homilies plainly call the church of Rome the idolatrous church, saying, that she “ Being indeed not only an harlot, but also a foul, filthy, old, withered harlot (for she is indeed of ancient years), and understanding her lack of natural and true beauty, and great loathsomeness, which of herself she hath, doth after the custom of such harlots, paint herself, and deck and tire herself with gold, pearl, stone, and all kinds of precious jewels, that she, shining with the outward glory and beauty of them, may please the foolish fantasy of fond lovers, and so entice them to spiritual fornication with her, who, if they saw her (I will not say naked) but in simple apparel, would abhor her as the foulest and filthiest harlot that ever was seen, according as appeareth by the description of the garnishing of the great strumpet of strumpets, the mother of whoredom, set forth by St. John in his



Revelation, who by her glory provoked the princes of the earth to commit whoredom with her." That was the law (hear, hear). The Queen was bound to act upon the principles of that law, and if they found their governors acting in a manner that was inconsistent with it, they had a duty to discharge to one higher than they were, even to God that gave them the power, to interpose between them and their irreligious, unconstitutional proceedings (cheers). The war at present was a war of principle, not of Conservative against Radical, not of the lower orders of Roman Catholics against the higher orders of Protestants. It was a war of Belial against God, of antichrist against Christ, of superstition and ignorance against truth, holiness, and the Bible. But mark the wisdom of their adversaries. Instead of confessing this truth, they disguise it. They said it was a war of the poor against the rich, the oppressed Irish against tithes and institutions which were injurious to them, whereas, in reality and truth, it was a war against Protestant principles. This was concealed—why? Just because defeat was certain to Roman Catholics in such a war. They knew well that it would be hopeless to expect to overthrow Protestant principles, and therefore they proceeded to attack their outworks, their redoubts, in the hope that when all the defences of Protestantism were in Popish hands, they would easily establish their system, and thus overthrow that which they hated (hear. hear, and loud cheers). But let things be called by their right names ; give the contest

its true character, and let them believe him, that the whole English people would oppose themselves to an aggression which had for its object the ascendancy, or even the countenance, of falsehood and idolatry (loud cheering). Mr. O'Connell, in his own remarkable eloquence, asked them to point out any land where there were such natural perfections as in Ireland; and then he inquired why was she steeped in such misery. Now, while he was saying all this, what was he, and what were his party aiming at? They were aiming at the pulling down of the Protestant religion and church (hear, hear.) They were aiming at the establishment of their own principles. They desired to pull down the principles of Protestants, and elevate their own upon their ruins (hear, hear). They might talk of the miseries of Ireland—of its sheep—its potatoes—its beef, being exported to England; but it was plain that this proceeded from Popery; it was the consequence of the idolatrous system (loud cheers). But did Mr. O'Connell describe the cause of it? (hear, hear). Did he even read the curse proclaimed in Scripture against idolatry? “Cursed shalt thou be in the city, and cursed shalt thou be in the field; cursed shall be thy basket and thy store; cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep—cursed shalt thou be when thou comest in, and cursed shalt thou be when thou goest out. Thine ox shall be slain before thine eyes, and thou shalt not eat thereof; thine ass shall be violently taken away from before thy face, and shall

not be restored to thee; thy sheep shall be given unto thine enemies, and thou shalt have none to rescue them. The fruit of thy land, and all thy labours, shall a nation which thou knowest not eat up, and thou shalt be only oppressed and crushed away. The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high, and thou shalt come down very low." He (Mr. Gregg) granted that the ox and the ass, the sheep, and the substance of Ireland, was, day after day, leaving the country; but the real cause of the distress of Ireland was the curse of God, visited on apostate Popery, and nothing else (cheers). If Popery was what the laws asserted it to be, this was an undeniable truth.—Mr. O'Connell himself could not deny it. Therefore he put the car before the horse in his proceedings. His first duty was, to demand the repeal of the laws which made Popery the cause of the miseries of Ireland—to declare, before the assembled House of Commons, that a foul and abominable lie was upon the statute book, because it was asserted in that book that the Popish religion was false, foul, and abominable. He should tear that law from the legislative record, or admit that its allegation was founded in truth. Mr. O'Connell should show that the law which designated the Roman Catholic religion damnable and idolatrous was unfounded in truth; when he did that, he might then come forward, and ask to be placed on an equality with them, Christians (great cheers). He (Mr. Gregg) would ask, was not Popery idolatry? (cries of yes, yes). What right then had Mr. O'Connell—



an idolator in their eyes, and in the eyes of the law—to come forward and demand equality with them, Christians? We will not (said the reverend gentleman with great vehemence)—we will not allow it—we have gained ascendancy, and we will have it (loud cheering). Mark—they had been speaking of the balancing of parties, and the contention of interests; he told them they would not surrender (cheers). He told them that if they enacted that Popish and idolatrous Municipal Reform bill, and presumed to put idolatrous persons upon a level with them, they would “turn out” (great cheers). Mark, and in silent stillness attend to what he said—if they got a Popish Lord Mayor, the time might come for the Protestants of Ireland to take a stand they never yet had taken. Did they remember the Covenanters of Scotland; when they saw their country about to be put under the *surveillance* of a system which they did not approve, they combined and declared that they would not submit to it. There was a time for such a course of conduct upon the part of the Christians as that was. Christ did once say to his people—“He that hath not a sword, let him sell his coat and buy one.” There was a moment when resistance would become a virtue; and let him [Mr. G.] say that the principle of putting themselves in a position, he would not say, of resistance to “the powers that be,” but in an attitude of denunciation of laws that were idolatrous, and tending in that way to the elevation and ascendancy of a system that was damnable and destructive, was justifiable; and



that the time might come to turn out by thousands, like the Covenanters, and say, "It shall not be" [cheers]. Mark him—when thousands of Protestants, such as he then saw before him, with their hearts enlivened by a spirit of truth, and their minds assured that their country was cursed by Popery, would say, "We will abandon the position of peace and submission—we will take the field, with Bibles in our hands, and make the air resound with *Hallelujahs* to our God" [great cheering]—we will go to the dens and to the caves of the earth, and witness for the truth, but not patiently abide the ascendancy of a system which was "damnable to the souls of man, opposed to the doctrine of Christ, and in favour of the designs of the devil" [cheers]. When aggregated thousands spoke such a language, woe to the men that would set at nought their holy determination (hear, hear, and cheers). He would say from that place, to the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, in the pride of power, that they should not be trifled with, and that if their principles were to be trampled upon, their bodies should first be trodden in the dust [cheers]. If they proposed to make an invasion upon their privileges, and put the glorious God-worshipping, Christ-revering Protestant, beneath the foot of the Papist, they would turn out by tens of thousands, abandon their cities, fly to the caves, manifest the spirit of their forefathers for their religion, and die at the stake or faggot [hear, and cheers.]—They should, therefore, make the question one of principle, at once turn the scale upon their adversaries,

and put themselves on the true road to success. Now, did not the municipal reform bill essentially war with principle? It did, and therefore he opposed it. Mr. Hamilton said that if the £10 franchise were established the Papists would become superior in the corporation. He could tell them that if there was a £20 franchise they would become superior; because, mark what will test the franchise, it is their oaths; and did the meeting think that oaths would bind them? [cries of no, no.] He would tell the meeting this, that they would first persuade themselves that their little holdings were worth £10, and that they would have no difficulty in doing, when their minds were exercised to believe certain things that Papists believed—they were just prepared to believe any thing that the interests of their church would render expedient. One of these things was, that a certain virgin was so filled with the love of God, that her breast became so hot that they were obliged to throw cold water on it lest it should take fire—[loud bursts of laughter]—they also were taught to believe that there was a person named Philip Neri, whose heart beat so strongly that it broke three of his ribs—[loud laughter]—but that God wrought a miracle and enlarged the place for the beating of the heart that he might not be interrupted in his devotions (loud and continued cheers, and laughter.) Men furnished with an elasticity of conscience that could swallow such old wives' tales, would find no great difficulty in persuading themselves that their holdings were of such a nature as to entitle them to lord it over heretics—

(loud cries of hear, hear.) Therefore, if the corporations were promiscuous in their character, ultimately the Papists must gain the ascendancy—[hear, hear]—there could be no amalgamation between Protestants and Papists [cries of hear, hear, and no, no.] Here, in that dining-room, conceive such guests as they were, accustomed to glorify the recollection of past days, the victories which they had gained, and those other glorious events which they look on with gratitude.—Conceive the endeavour to bring together such guests as they were, and those who hated the principles which they revered [loud cheers.] There might be persons in that hall who could express the feelings which he trusted they would never cease to be men enough to glory in (loud cheers). He would tell them that even if there were a majority of Papists in that hall, there would be some one who would be bold enough to say, I am not ashamed to propose the glorious pious and immortal memory of the great and good King William (vociferous cheers). He thought that they were tolerably unanimous on that subject. He would beg to ask, was it not absurd to disregard their honest prejudices, and require them to look with favor on a system which was the curse of their unfortunate country? Was it not madness to venture on a system of legislation, which set at nought every respected feeling of our nature, and proceeded, just as it were, to mingle heaven and hell, or fire and water? (hear, and loud cheering). He would tell them that this municipal bill went to overthrow the Protestant church in



this country. He did not say to the overthrow of Protestantism in this country, for that stood on a rock which could not be shaken (hear). He could mention a circumstance in his own experience. He went to Cork and announced that he would give a lecture—a great multitude were assembled, and he lectured, proving that Popery was the curse of Ireland, and he thought that he satisfied the minds of his hearers. When he came out he was assailed by a mob, but assistance was given him, thanks to the good Protestant sheriff of a Protestant Corporation (loud cheers). But suppose a few conscientious Roman Catholics had sworn what they conscientiously believed—namely, that they expected a riot, he would expect an inhibition from a Popish Sheriff, commanding him to give up his lecture. This imagining was realised, for as he was going to deliver the same lecture in another town, certain parties made an allegation, and he received a command from the authorities, being Radical, to give up his lecture [hear, hear]. Did they not see that that was closing the door on the preaching of the Gospel? He might mention, that in a church where he was preaching, there was a mob who created a disturbance—the Protestant Corporation were in their pews, and coming down with their gold chains of office, commanded the troublers of the peace away [cheers]. Suppose they wanted, as on this day, to give their votes in favour of Protestant subjects, and had a Popish magistrate in the place which their right hon. chairman occupied, would the



requisition be attended to ? [loud cheers]. One word with regard to the injury Popery did to Ireland. The grand question was, were their principles of the Homilies to be received as true, or not ? If Popery be damnable idolatry, the curse of God must be upon the country. Could any country thrive with the curse of God upon it ? (loud cries of hear, hear). Let them go through the whole world, from one country to another, and wherever Popery was, there they would find the curse accruing from it. Spain, the other day, was locked up in a state of despotism. The Spaniards came to the resolution of having a constitution, and the first thing they did was to discharge the monks and nuns, and to make it penal to be seen in a monk's dress (cheering). They abolished monkery in Spain—they were building it up here—but it was one thing to abolish monkery, and another thing to establish truth ; and in that country neither life nor property was secure. The same was the case with Portugal and South America. America seemed to be raised up to prove the truth of these principles. North America, descended of Great Britain, was existing in comparative tranquillity. But let them look at South America, on which the same principles which they opposed had brought a curse (hear, hear). If they looked at Belgium too, they were every minute expecting to find this new fangled kingdom thrown from its seat. In France, too, there was revolution after revolution, and what was the cause but Popery ? In every country where Popery was, it was a curse, and why should

they not expect that it should be so in Ireland? (hear, hear). He had addressed assemblages in England on the present question, and they declared, with one voice, that the Protestants of Ireland ought not to surrender their privileges (hear, hear). There was no doubt the minds of the commonalty of England was on the side of Protestantism (cheers). He was not afraid of the democracy of England. He could tell them that the people of England were radically sound. There was a superficiality of Radicalism, but in their heart the English people were in favour of Protestantism (cheers). Let them bring their cause before the English people as that of the Bible against Popery, of Christ against Antichrist, and they would stand by them [hear, hear, and cheers]. Let them see whether the House of Commons would presume to vote against the united voices of the English and Irish people. Stay yourselves (said the rev. gentleman), and rest your cause upon principle, and upon that alone; and you must, under God, succeed.—Rest it on expediency—on the prospect of mere dangers to be apprehended—and you will fail. If you bring before the English people an account of Popish plots, and of dangers to Protestants, they will laugh you to scorn—why? Because an Englishman, or a Protestant, does not know what fear is. Are *you* afraid? [no, no, and cheers]. So I thought. Then base your demands, not on fear, but on principle; and say that truth shall not be put in abeyance, nor falsehood into honour and privilege. Fear!—I tell

you, one of you would chase a thousand, and five would put ten thousand to flight (hear and cheers.)—What should we fear? God is on our side—truth is on our side—the laws of the land and its strength are on our side (cheers). Let us tell forth these truths to the government, and they will also be with us (hear, hear). Therefore, fear ye no evil: the Lord is with us, and the shout of a King is amongst us. Our enemies shall be overthrown—Antichrist shall be overthrown—Babylon shall fall—but the church of the living God shall stand for ever and ever! At the conclusion of Mr. Gregg's speech, the whole meeting stood up, and gave utterance to their feelings in repeated cheers, waving of hats, flags, and handkerchiefs, and rounds of the Kentish fire.

The Hon. THEOBALD FITZWALTER BUTLER rose and said, that the committee had done him the honour of putting a resolution into his hands. The resolution was so good in itself that it was quite unnecessary for him to make any comment upon it. The eloquent gentleman who was to speak after him, would be more able to do it justice:—

“Resolved—That it is a primary duty of legislators to construct and maintain institutions that are calculated to support truth and counteract error.”

Mr. WEST, Q. C., rose amid loud applause and said—I ought to feel, as I do most sincerely, the most un-

feigned gratitude at this renewed expression of kindness, a kindness which I have so frequently heretofore received from the freemen of Dublin (loud cheers.)—The gentleman who preceded me has, in terms of too much kindness, stated that the person who was to speak to this resolution was more competent than himself. I came here this day not with the intention to propose any resolution, much less to criticise or examine any resolution—but I came here finding that there was a meeting of the citizens of Dublin for the purpose of petitioning against that most iniquitous measure which they call municipal reform (loud bursts of applause.) I came here to unite my humble voice and exertions, in any way they may be useful, in opposing that iniquitous measure with all my heart and soul, and which I shall do to the utmost of my humble means (reiterated cheering.) The resolution which has been proposed by the gentleman who preceded me is a very short one, and was put into my hands since I came into this room. However indisposed to be critical on the terms of any resolution, yet I think there is a term in this resolution on which I would wish to make an observation (hear hear.) The resolution is this—“ That it is the primary duty of the legislature to construct and maintain institutions which are calculated to support truth and counteract error.” This resolution, you perceive, is in the present tense—“ It is the primary duty of the legislature to construct institutions.” This resolution would be quite sufficient and quite in point, if the word “ construct ” was omitted, and had it confined itself to the maintenance of the institutions



we have. What have we to do with the "constructions" of the legislature of the present day? Those who knew how to construct, and did truly and wisely construct institutions, were our ancestors, and did so at the revolution and at the reformation; as well as those who constructed the act of settlement. These were, according to my mind, true builders, and not like the bunglers of the present day (cheers and laughter.) If the builders of this day would keep these old temples of civil and religious liberty which our ancestors had constructed in good and tenantable order and repair; if they would allow us the privileges of loyal and true freemen, we would make them a present of their new and ill-conceived "constructions." I do now certainly find myself in a position which obliges me to alter the course on this occasion which I intended to pursue, when I was informed that this meeting of my fellow freemen was to take place. It is the kind intention of the corporation of Dublin to confide to me, humble as I am, their interests as a corporation, as one of their counsel (loud cheers.) I can assure them that I shall attend with zeal and fidelity to those interests; for any gratitude I can ever show, or exertion I can ever make, to promote the interests of the corporation and of the freemen of Dublin, would but ill requite that debt of obligation which I owe to both—(loud cheers.) But I am sure that every gentleman who hears me will give me credit when I say that the determination of the corporation to engage me as their counsel imposes a restraint, the cause of which it is now impossible to explain. I have mentioned to some of

my friends here who apprised me of their intention to call on me to address you, that I should be restrained in the course I intended to pursue, on account of my present position with the corporation ; as the reason I gave perfectly satisfied them (hear) ; and I am convinced that you will give me credit for my discretion and good intentions, should I not go so far on this occasion as you would wish (cheers). In coming forward to unite my humble voice with that of so great a meeting as the present, I come forward not to express any newly-formed opinion, but to state to you that one undeviating principle on which I have hitherto acted (cheers). I never had any other principle, nor shall any inducement make me take any other course but that which I am now pursuing and shall in future pursue (cheers). When I had the honour of being the representative of Dublin, as Mr. Hamilton has stated, this question came on in a certain form before the legislature, in 1837 ; the opinion I entertained then I entertain now [loud cheers] ; and if the question now were discussed again—suppose that every member of parliament were against us, myself and my colleague would act as we have done, and in doing so we have the happiness of believing that we entertain opinions in perfect accordance with the most respectable of our constituents [cheers]. If there were not two voices in the parliament to oppose the reconstruction of our corporations, the measure would be opposed by the two voices which represented the city of Dublin [great cheers]. This was the opinion which I have ever had, and I trust that no Protestant will ever consent to the



re-construction of our corporations, in any shape or form [no, no, and great cheering]. The English people, who are our friends, are willing to assist us; all that is necessary is to make them understand our situation. They may abolish our corporations and reconstruct others—they may do it in spite of their representatives, and contrary to the feelings of those who represent the Protestant interests in Ireland; but I trust we shall never be a party to any such iniquitous proceedings [hear, and cheers]. Should all our corporations be destroyed—should they be transferred to our enemies, we should never be parties consenting thereto [we never shall—loud cheers]. If our corporations were destroyed, and that they were transferred to our political and religious enemies, my conscientious belief is this, that it would be an act of the grossest perfidy which was ever yet perpetrated in this world [hear, hear]. I would implore the representatives of the Protestant interests in parliament never to consent to any such measure [hear, hear], and for this reason alone, if there were no other, that if the corporations were re-constructed, the time would come when the people of England, who may now be ignorant—for I will not say that they are careless of the Protestant interest of Ireland—would soon find it necessary, in their own defence, to retrace their steps [hear, hear, and cheers]. I do believe that the bill now in progress, or any other scheme of that nature, or of that effect, is a fatal measure [hear]. To illustrate that it is so in its several bearings, is too vast a subject now to enter on, and which the restraint I have

imposed on myself will not permit me to attempt [hear, hear]. I believe that I could satisfactorily demonstrate that one of the grand principles put forward by the advocates of Roman Catholic Emancipation was this—the eternal security of our Protestant corporations—that they would be completely secure against any undue encroachments on the part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland [hear]. This is a ground hitherto not sufficiently taken up or animadverted upon ; and which could be demonstrated to the satisfaction of every impartial mind. It could be easily demonstrated that such a measure as that now in contemplation would be an act of the grossest perfidy and of the worst faith. It would be an act equivalent to the confiscation of private rights. I believe that the pretence of equality, upon which it is founded, and upon which its advocates rest the measure, is a gross and rank fraud (cheers). This can be demonstrated ; and it will be demonstrated (cheers). The result of this measure will be, believe me, a fatal blow struck against the Protestant church, and against the Protestant religion ; it will be a measure, which, if adopted, will be fatal to England and to Ireland ; it will be fatal to the connexion between the two countries (hear, hear). Entertaining this opinion, but not attempting to enter upon the discussion of the topics connected therewith, I feel I should not have acted the part of an honest man, independent of any thing I owe to the corporation of Dublin, had I absented myself this day from your proceedings. Had I not added my humble



voice, as sincerely as man could do, in deprecating the measure of what they call corporate reform, now in contemplation; in assisting every freeman and Protestant who comes forward cordially and with good will to unite in the protection of our liberties, our privileges, our faith, and our religion (loud, long, and continued cheers); to give every opposition in our power, consistently with our constitutional rights, to a measure fraught with evil to the country, and with danger to ourselves (cheers). I trust, however, we may all weather the storm which is impending over us, by bringing before the people of England the true knowledge of our situation; by bringing before them the facts of the case. When the people of England are properly informed as to our real state, they will do justice between us and our enemies. We may yet live to preserve our valued institutions, or, if not, our liberties, without being trampled on by a virulent and a malignant enemy, who will not give us any rest until he destroys all that remains of our Protestant privileges and institutions in this land (loud applause, which lasted for several minutes).

Mr. BUTT then rose to propose the next resolution, and was received with loud cheers, which lasted for several minutes. As soon as silence was obtained, he said—My Lord, I came to this meeting to-day with the full conviction on my mind that, if the Protestants of Ireland did their duty, the bill for handing over our corporations to Popery would be defeated (cheers.)—

I rise to address you with the full conviction that that bill will never pass (loud cheers.) To-day we have done our duty. This great assembly proclaims the energy of a free people still determined to be free (immense cheers.) This is the response, my lord, of your countrymen to your call. It is the response of men worthy of their ancestors, and worthy of their cause. It is the good old spirit of Protestantism that has rallied round the banner of their ancient corporation thousands of loyal hearts. I have now no fear for the Protestant institutions of the country (loud cheers.) This is not the language of mere enthusiasm and excitement—although at such a moment, I would hate myself if I did not feel both—but, my lord, I speak the words of truth and soberness. I have watched the progress of this question with intense anxiety—I have weighed its difficulties—I have despaired of it—I have seen our own friends consent to measures ruinous to Irish Protestantism—I have seen our cause left almost without an advocate—legislators unanimous in a measure for handing over our corporation to our enemies—and the Protestants themselves negligent and apathetic on the subject. Why, then, do I use the language of confidence and hope? Because that very feature, which is the most discouraging in this gloomy retrospect, is the very circumstance that permits me to hope for the future. If our affairs were in their present position, in spite of all our efforts to do our duty, then, indeed, I might despair that any efforts of ours could make a change; but if, on the contrary, our present difficul-

ties have arisen in consequence of our own indolence and neglect, then I may hope that, if we now act as we are doing this day, our honest and energetic efforts may be of avail in arresting the progress of events—(loud cheers.) I repeat it, my lord, the very consideration that we have hitherto neglected our duty, gives us reason to hope that the bill for handing over our corporations may, by an energetic co-operation, be defeated (loud cheers.) But, my lord, I do not wish to appeal to the hopes, the feelings, or prejudices of this great meeting. I will endeavour to claim your attention for a plain matter of fact statement. I ask you to look at the matter I lay before you as sober men of business—as you would deal with any of the common transactions of life (hear.) The resolution I have to submit to you is one of plain matter of fact. The learned gentleman then read the following resolution :—

“Resolved—That we are of opinion that the bill of last session, even in its amended shape, would have had the effect of establishing a Popish ascendancy in all the corporate towns in Ireland, and that the power thus thrown into the hands of the enemies of Protestantism and Britain they would be enabled to use, in a most effectual manner, for the furtherance of those views, the entertainment of which they do not hesitate to avow—to wit, the overthrow of the church, and the undisturbed prevalence of Popery in the land—objects

which are plainly opposed to the union of Great Britain, and the welfare of Ireland."

He would endeavour to prove to them the proposition which this resolution asserted. He begged their patient attention for some details that might appear tedious, but which still were necessary (hear, hear). He confessed he had no such feeling as that to which his learned friend, (Mr. West) had alluded; for though he, too, had to thank the partiality of his friends in the corporation, for placing him in the honorable position of their professional advocate—doubly honorable from the person with whom they had associated him (hear, hear)—yet, he felt no restraint upon him from this cause, and he would endeavour, by a reference to the bill itself, of last session, in a plain matter-of-fact manner, to prove the resolution true. His assertion was, that had the bill, as returned by the lords, as acceded to by the Conservatives, been passed into a law, it would have established a Popish ascendancy in the corporate towns of Ireland, especially in Dublin (hear, hear). He need not point out to them the importance of demonstrating this. The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel had assented to the bill of last session, because they were deceived as to its real effect. They were led to believe that it might be passed with safety to Protestantism; but if it could be clearly and indisputably shown that it would establish Popish ascendancy, they could not consent to its passing. He feared the line of argument he proposed might prove



tedious, but it was necessary. He would, if they gave him their attention, prove to them, as it were by mathematical demonstration, that the Protestants would be excluded from corporations constructed on the principle of the bill of last session. He held in his hand the bill, not as it had been brought in by the ministry, but as it had been amended by the Conservatives, and as they were willing it should pass, after it had received the revision of all the legal minds that belonged to their party in either house. He mentioned this not to throw blame on the Conservatives in parliament; but he grounded on it this argument—that if this bill, after all the cautions and all the amendments of the Conservatives in parliament—after it had passed the legal acumen of such men as they had on their side—after being sifted by the caution of the House of Lords—if after all this it was nothing more or less than a bill for establishing Popish ascendancy, surely it was only fair to assume that it was not possible to frame a bill on its principle which would not have this effect (loud cheers). So little was heard of the true nature of this bill, that it was necessary to begin at the beginning. The bill was not merely a measure of enfranchisement, but disfranchisement. All existing rights were to be swept away (hear), and new rights to be created in their stead. Not a trace or vestige of their old rights was to remain—the Lord Mayor would at once be degraded from his place of Alderman—all his brethren would uncereemoniously be dismissed—the common councilmen would be in the same manner dismissed—

the freemen would be deprived of their rights—every existing franchise would without reserve be swept away. He dwelt long on this, because little was known of the new bill. He not long since met a gentleman, sincerely attached to Protestantism, who asked him why he was opposed so vehemently to the new bill?—what harm would the admission of some few house-holders into the corporation do? But when he (Mr. Butt) explained to him that it was not a measure of admitting new rights, but of confiscating all the old, he declared that it ought to be opposed (hear, hear, and great cheering). This then ought to be distinctly understood—that the measure was one of confiscation—no rights must be preserved—all must be swept away without reserve. Let this be distinctly understood (cheers). Now let them see the rights which were prepared to be substituted. The persons, and the only persons, entitled to vote in the new corporations were persons occupying houses of the value of £10. This was under the 13th section of the bill. (The learned gentleman read the section). The value of £10 must be calculated in this way—from the poor law rating (cheers). He would not trouble them with the calculations—but the franchise was this—that every person occupying a house rated as high as the value of about £8 should have a vote, and no one else. Now, he appealed to their own experience whether this would not give the Popish party the complete ascendancy (hear), in the municipal constituency? At the last election the Trades' Union nominated the members of the city.

The Protestant candidates were defeated by a majority of 200. Let them just see how the provisions of the municipal franchise would tell on the numbers on either side. On the one side they would lose all their voters who did not occupy a house of the *bona fide* value of £8. This would certainly take a great number from the Popish party; but, on the other side, the Protestants would lose all the freemen, and the property franchise, in which they had a large majority (hear, hear). He had consulted those best acquainted with Dublin electors, and they had informed him that this loss on the Protestant side would be immensely greater than the gain (loud cries of hear.) This is an easy test. A friend had handed to him a return of the number of £10 householders and leaseholders at the last election who had voted for both sides. The numbers were—

For the Radicals,	..	...	...	2652
Conservatives	...	...	...	934
Majority,	...	...	...	1,718

These were the only classes who would be entitled to vote under the new municipal bill. No doubt some of the householders would be struck off by a stringent test, and some of the freemen could register as householders; but it was plain that in the municipal constituency, confined as it was exclusively to the household franchise, the Radicals would have an immense majority (loud cries of hear). He was not yet done with the examination of the details of the bill. He had pre-



ferred this line of argument to what might be more exciting ; but it was essential to show the real character of the bill (immense cheers, and cries of go on).— Dublin was divided into sixteen wards. The division of these wards was sanctioned so as still more effectually to secure the defeat of the Protestant interest. Each manor was to return three common-councillors and one alderman. Now, if they carefully examined the way in which the boundaries were drawn, they would find that the Protestant strength was all thrown into one or two wards, and in all the others there would be a majority for their enemies (loud cries of hear). They could easily understand the management by which this was effected—they did not half attend to the legerdemain tricks of Whiggery (long and loud cheering). Did time permit, he (Mr. Butt) would shew, on the testimony of the commissioners appointed by the government at the time, that, in arranging the boundaries of burghs under the reform act, they had adopted manœuvres of the same kind, leaving out a nook of one burgh, because it was Protestant, and throwing in a corner into another, because it was Popish (loud cheers). In the same way they had so contrived the division of the wards in Dublin, as to give the Protestants a large majority in two or perhaps three, and insure their defeat in 13 or 14; and the result would be, that out of 48 common councilmen, they would return six or eight (loud cries of hear).— But would they be able to command even all the strength which this bill gave them at a municipal



election—would the rich and great inhabitants of the squares of this city be induced every year, and year after year, to take the trouble of attending a municipal election (they could not now be got once in three or seven years to attend a parliamentary election ?)—(loud cheers). He appealed again to experience.—They remembered the last election. They did not forget through whom alone they were defeated.—The humble freeman risked his all ; the shopkeeper dared the threat of exclusive dealing ; he defied the threat of the magic circle round his door, within whose fatal spell his little hopes of prosperity were to wither and to be blighted (immense cheering) ; and as he had touched upon the subject, he must stop to say that he was no Protestant—he was not worthy of the name—a rich Conservative had no gratitude, who would now forget his humbler brethren, who had fought the battles of their cause. They were the victims of exclusive dealing (loud cries of hear, hear).—Protestants must act on a system of protective dealing. But if their experience told them how difficult it was to induce the rich and the opulent to take part even on the great occasion of a parliamentary election, how many more would there be who would not trouble themselves every year about the election of a common council-man in their ward ! Even under the new Bill, they would not be able to bring up all their strength ; and if they did bring it all up, they would be defeated (hear). There was another class of Protestants too, who, under this bill, would become indifferent—he

meant the humbler class. They might rest assured, that if these men, who had been called on so often to fight the battles of the peer, now found that politicians disregarded their hereditary rights, which were held by exactly the same tenure as the hereditary peerage, they would begin to care but little for political contests (cheers.) These causes would most assuredly have their natural effect; and the result would be, that in the municipal corporations the Protestants would be almost wholly unrepresented. The clauses of the bill, too, were formed to give every annoyance to the better classes of society, and prevent them from exercising their franchise: the elections were annual, on each 25th October; but this was not all—an annual revision of the list of burgesses was held in the beginning of October; and if any person was objected to in the month of September, it became necessary for him to appear and support his qualification. Unless, then, every person was ready to take the double annual trouble of attending at the revision of the list and at the election, he could not exercise his franchise.—Could they doubt that with such a franchise, and such provisions, the new corporations would be essentially Popish? (continued cheers.) So much for the composition of the new corporations; they should now see what powers were proposed to be given to the Popish common council. The 93d section gave them an indefinite power of taxation to pay such salaries for which the borough fund might not be adequate. The learned gentleman then read part of the section autho-

rising the common council to impose a rate upon the inhabitants of the town. He also referred to the 66th section, which authorised them to appoint such officers as they might think fit, with such salaries as they might think reasonable. These powers, they would remember, were to be given to a Popish common council.— There was such an office as city chaplain. In a borough in England, an Unitarian clergyman had been appointed chaplain to a reformed corporation, and the appointment was held legal (loud cries of hear, hear.) There would be nothing to prevent a Popish corporation of Dublin from appointing the Most Rev. Doctor Murray as chaplain to the ancient and loyal city of Dublin, appointing him such salary as they might think reasonable, and taxing the Protestant inhabitants of the city to pay it. If the bill passed, no doubt the city chaplaincy would be held *in commendam* with the Roman Catholic archbishopric, and nothing would be more reasonable than that the rich Protestant should pay for the support of the archbishop of the people.— These were plain matters of fact. Mr. O'Connell would be the first lord mayor. In that very room which then echoed to the voices of Protestant freemen, he would be seated with the most reverend the city chaplain on his right hand ; and at the civic feast, as had been the case at other dinners in this country, the first toast would be, " Our father, his Holiness the Pope," and the next, " Her most Gracious Majesty" (loud cheers.) There was nothing in this bill to prevent that state of things from being realised. It was



evidently contemplated by the bill that Mr. O'Connell should be lord mayor. The English act contained a provision that the mayor should vacate his office by absenting himself for six months. The Irish act copied this clause with the addition "unless for reasonable cause to be allowed by the council"—a provision which would enable Mr. O'Connell to attend his parliamentary duties without vacating his mayoralty—(great cheering) ; and that there might be no mistake as to the purport of the provision, another clause of the bill expressly recognised the possibility of a member of parliament filling the office of mayor, though no such recognition was contained in the English act—(hear, hear, and cheers.) He now came to another part of the bill—that part which professed to preserve the parliamentary franchise of the old freemen. This pretended preservation of their rights was but a mockery. He (Mr. Butt) solemnly entreated every Conservative member of parliament, as they value Protestantism in Ireland, to attend to this (hear, hear.)—The rights of the freemen were nominally preserved, but who was to decide upon the claim?—the Popish lord mayor (cries of oh, oh) ; and from his decision there was no appeal. In the case of a ten-pound householder having his claim to be placed upon the burgess roll rejected, an appeal was expressly given to the Court of Queen's Bench, and a right of action given ; but in the case of the Protestant freeman no appeal was given. The decision of the Popish lord mayor was final—a decision not made even under the sanction of an oath.



No such power was now exercised by the lord mayor (hear, hear.) Under this provision, Mr. O'Connell would hold his court to decide on the right of the Protestant freeman to vote for or against himself (loud and long continued cheering.) All freemen who were to be admitted were to pay their fees to the new borough fund, while the burgesses were expressly exempted from stamp duty (hear, hear.) In the fourth section of the bill the parliamentary franchise was preserved to freemen ; in the English act the words were "burgesses and freemen." The omission was not without its object (hear, hear.) There were several boroughs in Ireland in which the corporate right of voting was vested, not in freemen, but in burgesses alone, and in each of these boroughs, by this dexterous omission, the votes were lost to the Protestant cause. In Armagh, Bandon, and some other boroughs, these burgesses amounted to 13. Let Mr. Sergeant Jackson attend to this (loud cheers.) It was clear, then, that the object of the bill was to establish in the cities a Popish parliamentary, as well as municipal, ascendancy ; and that never again, while a Papist exercised such powers, would they be able to return a Protestant member for this city (loud cries of hear, hear.) He had drawn their attention to but a few of many clauses in the bill. If he did not fear to weary them, he would refer to many more similar instances. For the information which he had been able to lay before the meeting, he was altogether indebted to the valuable research and examination of a gentleman with whom he

had the honour of being associated as secretary to the Conservative society—he meant his friend Mr. Wauchoh. That gentleman had carefully examined and compared the bill. He (Mr. Butt) wished he could have been induced to come forward himself and state the result of his labours to the meeting. His friend had, however, handed him his notes upon the bill, of which he had so largely availed himself. One more reference he wished to make. In the last clause it is provided that no mistake in the burgess roll shall vitiate the right to vote claimed under it. In the English act the words were any roll; but the words in the Irish act did not include the freemen's roll, so that it was cunningly left in the power of the Popish town-clerk, by an accidental mistake, to vitiate the rights of freemen altogether. No wonder, that his friend had annexed as a note to this last instance of fraud the quotation which he found on the paper in his hand—

Calm, thinking villains,  
Whom no faith can fix—  
Of crooked counsels and dark politics.

(great cheering and laughter). The last clause was a fraud. There was no truth in the entire bill. The very preamble was untrue, which pretended that the bill was passed to the intent that the towns might be well and quietly governed (laughter). With the passing of this bill we might bid adieu to quiet in the towns for ever. The first clause of the bill was a

falsehood, and the last was a trick (hear, hear, and cheers); and he (Mr. Butt) would venture to say that the intervening clauses were worthy of both (continued cheers and laughter). He thought he had now demonstrated that this bill was a fatal one. If it passed, the Protestants of Dublin would never again be able to return a representative. He had proved that the new corporation would be essentially Popish, that they had the power of taxing the inhabitants of the city for purposes essentially Popish. The corporation of Tuam had voted funds to complete a Roman Catholic cathedral. Why should not the corporation of Dublin do the same; and if there was a deficiency in the borough fund, make it up by levying a rate upon the Protestant people of Dublin? This bill would be the first step towards the creation of a Popish establishment throughout Ireland (hear, hear, and cheers). This power of taxation affected every man, it affected every one in the meeting: if the bill passed, they were, every one, liable to indefinite taxation at the pleasure of the new common council. He had taken, be it remembered, the bill as it had been assented to by the Conservative party, after the amendment and revision of that party; and the argument he drew from this was, that if, after all their efforts to make a good bill on its principle, they could only produce such a bill as the one in his hand, it was impossible to frame a good bill on such a principle at all (hear, hear). He had now done with his examination of the bill; perhaps he had already exhausted their patience (no, no.)



But he could not sit down without trespassing on them by a few general observations. He felt that the question which they had to decide that day was not a question between the government and the Conservatives of Dublin—it was not a question between the Protestants and Roman Catholics of Ireland—it was a question between the Protestantism and the Popery of the world (loud cheers). If Popery succeeded in getting possession of the corporations of Ireland, the Protestantism of England was not worth six years' purchase (loud cheering). Let them remember the circumstance and the time at which this concession was proposed. It was when Popery was laying her plans to re-establish her ascendancy. [The learned gentleman then referred to an article in the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, in which he stated that it was proved to demonstration that an attempt was now making, by an organised system, to regain ascendancy for Popery. To his mind the chain of demonstration was complete, proving that a papal conspiracy was actively at work to crush Protestantism throughout Europe]. The article was in reference to the dispute between the King of Prussia and the Archbishop of Cologne :—

“ The conflict is not between a fanatical prelate on the Rhine, and a secretary of state in Berlin, but between the Pope and all the Protestant princes of Europe. The question to be decided is not whether a few children in Prussia are to be educated Romanists or



Protestants; but whether Protestant princes and senates, or the Pope and cardinals at Rome, are to legislate for Protestant nations; whether the free exercise of the reformed faith, purchased with the blood of so many martyrs, and secured by the hard struggles of a century, is to be continued, or to be put down by Popish intrigue and violence.”

So he (Mr. Butt) said of the conflict between the corporations and their enemies. The eloquent article traced the ramifications of the conspiracy which had long been in existence:—

“ One obstacle, however, stood in the way of all their efforts, and that was the exclusive Protestant character of the English nation, and the majestic attitude of the Anglican church. The exhibition of genuine apostolic Catholicity exposed the baseness of the Roman counterfeit. The gigantic power which the divine blessing had vouchsafed to the national maintenance of true Christianity made all their efforts unavailing, so long as it continued. Every engine, therefore, was set at work, both in Great Britain and on the Continent, to obtain Popish emancipation. At length, by dint of Irish agitation and foreign political intrigue, the fatal bill was passed, contrary to the will of the people of England—and Rome was enabled to proceed. ‘*Ita ancipiti malo territi Britannii, et Romanis redit animus.*’ ”

One extract more, in which this acute and cautious writer did not hesitate to connect the work of this Papal conspiracy with Irish questions:—

“There is, however, a cry more near and more touching still. It is the voice of our brethren in Ireland, lamenting over the murdered and mutilated corpses of their clergy and their friends, and crying for justice. It is a cry that the mightiest empire the sun ever saw cannot long neglect with impunity. It is the cry of innocent blood, that pierces even to the throne of God. Murder is a crime that Providence never permits to go unpunished in individuals or nations. Before God and man, England stands convicted of looking on unmoved at the most fearful multiplication of foul and savage murder that ever blotted the history of nations. All civilised Europe stands aghast at the hard-hearted apathy of the British government, and the unconcern with which British journals proclaim their country’s infamy.

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“England is the governing power. The Protestants of Ireland, though they could and would soon put an end to such lawlessness, know too well their duty as subjects to the crown of England, to take the sword of justice into their hands. It is against England, therefore, that the spirits of murdered loyalists, now before the throne of God, cry for vengeance. In a free country like this, the responsibility rests upon the whole people; and therefore the guilt of Irish murder rests

upon every individual who holds his peace; and the curse of murder threatens to enter every habitation, from the palace to the cottage. England has only to declare her will that murders shall cease, and it will be at an end. But the declaration must soon be made, or the divine justice may perchance let loose those murderous hordes upon the fair fields of that country, which for so many centuries had not been defiled by the foot of an invader. This is what Popery intends. Whilst the Romanist partisans convulse Europe, Popish priests, and French auxiliaries stir up rebellion in the colonies; Russia employs our arms in the east; to Irish Papists, assisted by French and Belgian auxiliaries, is assigned the work of restoring Popish ascendancy in England. Englishmen may smile; but let them remember that the guilt of unavenged murder paralyses the strongest arm, and benumbs the stoutest heart—that all the powers of the universe cannot stay the progress of the Divine vengeance.”

(The reading of these extracts was frequently interrupted by loud cheers). The question now is, shall popes and cardinals trample on the dearest rights of man—shall the reformation be repealed—shall the Word of God no longer be permitted to go abroad upon the world, and the human mind be again enslaved to the cruelest despotism which ever trampled upon the privileges of our race? (long continued cheering, which interrupted the speaker for several minutes). The Protestants of Ireland were placed in a noble at-



titude. Britain had long been the garden of Protestantism in Europe, and therefore it was that plots were laid against her greatness; through the Irish Protestants it was she was assailed. The Irish Protestants held the keys of British greatness, and stood in the Thermopylæ of the world (tremendous cheering). Alluding to the last extract of the *Quarterly Review*, the learned gentleman said they might appeal to the justice of England—they might show them that in the days when Protestant ascendancy was maintained, there was peace in Ireland: but with conciliation came discord (hear, hear). With every step in the progress towards Popish ascendancy, crime had increased, and blood had desolated the land; and they might call on them in the name of their martyred brethren, whose innocent blood still cries to Heaven for vengeance, to declare that the day of concession is gone by (great cheering). If once Popish corporations were established, Ireland was virtually a Popish country (cheers); and let them not imagine that any Protestant institution could remain—an anomaly to the universality of her sway. No Protestant institution would survive; neither the church nor the university could continue exceptions when the other institutions of the country were made Popish; for the university, of which he (Mr. Butt) was a member, he declared that he felt that it could not survive the fate of its kindred Protestant corporations (cheers). Already it was attacked, and the warning given, that it should not be the only Protestant corporation that would escape [hear]. The

learned gentleman then alluded to the resolutions of the corporation to resist the bill. They were determined to plead at the bar of the House of Lords their ancient charters—their prescriptive rights, as ancient as the constitution itself—that unalterable fealty to British authority, which was their only crime—and they would leave it to the honour of the British peers, that honour which the law and the constitution held sacred as an oath, to deal with their solemn pleas as they thought fit. It had been said, indeed, that the corporation had given their assent to this bill [immense cries of no, no]. In their name he denied it [great cheering]. It was said, however, that they had given their assent to their own destruction (cries of no), and therefore now could not plead their charters against this bill. If they gave their assent to their extinction, they had no right to do so. They were but trustees; their rights and franchises were theirs to use, but not theirs to give away [immense cheering]. But admit that they offered to assent to the extinction of their rights, did it therefore follow that they must surrender their rights to such a bill as this? If they offered to give up their dearly cherished franchises at the altar of what was called their country's peace, did this bind them to immolate them on the shrine of that country's discord and ruin? [continued cheers]. If this bill passed, he repeated, peace and prosperity were banished from every town in Ireland. There were one or two subjects to which, before he sat down, he desired to allude, although perhaps, he ought scarcely to do so—

he meant the charges which have been brought against those who had commenced the resistance to this bill (cries of go on). But having been one of the first who ever raised a protest against this iniquitous measure, when Protestant Ireland seemed silent on the subject—when he little thought that such a meeting as this would in a few minutes echo that protest (great cheering), he felt it right to allude to this subject. They had been charged with being actuated by personal feelings in the struggle they had maintained—by feelings of personal hostility to an individual. For himself, and perhaps he might venture to speak for others (hear, hear, from several gentlemen on the platform), he solemnly disclaimed such a feeling (loud cheers). Nay more, if in the course of their discussions on the question, an unkind word had been used towards him—he (Mr. Butt) could not charge his memory with an unkind word towards any man—but if even an unkind word had been used towards him, in this solemn hour of the peril of Protestantism, he flung from him the recollection (immense cheering), and would hail as a friend and brother any man who would now, after this unequivocal demonstration of Protestant feeling, join him in an unreserved and honest resistance to this iniquitous measure (hear, hear, and loud and continued cheers). My lord, here is the spontaneous outburst of a nation's feeling. I must say it, never was there a meeting about which so little pains were taken. My friends who managed the matter will forgive me if I say, that never were there worse mana-



gers of the tricks of getting up a public meeting (laughter and cheers). Perhaps it is best so. This is a spontaneous expression of feeling, and never before was such an assemblage collected in this room (loud cheers.) I have seen when the highest nobility of the land convened the Protestants of Ireland, the meeting was not so densely crowded as that which I now address (loud cheers;) and why is this—why have the thousands that are here, and the thousands that have been unable to get admittance, thus rallied at your call? Because they felt the peril of the occasion, and more, my lord, because your call was made in the good old spirit of Protestantism (immense cheers)—because you inscribed No surrender on your banner (immense cheering). It was no call of cowardly expediency to deliberate how much of Protestantism might be given up to maintain the rest, but it was a call to take our stand on Protestantism, because it is the truth (cheers). I repeat, this is the spontaneous outburst of national feeling; and I say plainly that after this I will give my confidence to no man who will dare—ay, dare (great cheering), in the face of the moral power of such a meeting as this—in the face of the solemn declaration of our opinion, which this mighty multitude has this day made, to give assent, in the name of the Protestants of Ireland, to the measure which we declare to be fatal [cheers]. Let all that is past be forgotten; we have all something to charge ourselves with of neglect; but let there be

no compromise and no surrender for the future [cheers]. But, my lord, the charge was also brought that we were influenced by self-interest—self-interest, indeed ! [cheers], and just at the same time, and almost in the same breath, we were told, not that we were on the side of injustice, nor that we were on the side of justice, and gratitude, and honor ; but that our views were impracticable—that we would not be countenanced by the great—that we were but a miserable few [laughter and cheers]—that we stood alone in our solitary fanaticism for justice—and then we were told that we were seeking our own interest.—No, my lord ; this is not the conduct of self-interested men, to set themselves on the side of justice against the many, and the great ; self-interest and selfishness are to be found on the side of the multitude and of power (hear and loud cheers.) There is one gentleman present to whom it would be injustice in me to sit down without alluding, a man whom I am proud to acknowledge as my friend, Mr. Jones (great cheering.) To him it is that we owe this day's glorious expression of Protestant feeling—he it was who stood forward to animate the corporations of Dublin to resist this bill, with an integrity which nothing could swerve, and an energy which no discouragement and no difficulty could subdue (great cheering.) The just favour of his fellow-citizens has already conferred on him a high and honourable office ; but by his conduct in this matter, he has won for himself more enduring honors—honors that are not laid aside with the chain,

and do not cease with a year of office, perpetuating all that is really valuable in dignity or office.

Consul non unius anni  
Sed quoties bonus atque fidus  
Judex honestum prætulit utili.

May I not now add—

Per obstantum catervas  
Explicuit sua victor arma.

(immense cheering.)

Perpetual magistrate is he  
Who knows the rules of justice full in sight,  
And never to convenience gives up right.

(renewed cheering.) My lord, I have done. I have had little time amid other occupations to prepare these remarks, which I fear have been unconnected. But I would hate myself for my coldness—I would have no Protestant heart in my breast if I could stand here and not feel the greatness and dignity of this occasion. I have no fear of the Protestant institutions of the country—my only fear was in the apathy of Protestants themselves; but Protestantism is now awake—her blood is mantling in her veins—I feel as if I had my hand upon the pulse of Protestantism—here, upon this mighty outcry of its shout, I can count the strong throbbing of its indignation (hear, hear, hear, and vehement cheering.) There is no cause for fear (hear, and cheers.) We will do our duty. Protestants of Ireland, a mighty contest is going on on the theatre of



the world, on which men and angels are looking with anxiety. The question, I repeat, is, whether the Reformation shall be repealed—whether that Reformation which promised light and liberty to mankind shall be the means of riveting more fast upon the human race the fetters of vassalage and slavery? These are the interests that are entrusted to your keeping. In the name then, of your religion, of the rights of man, of your country—that country which we long to see

Great, glorious and free,

but which can only be so when the truth shall make her free—in the name of all that is dear in the recollections of home or sacred in the hope of man, I call on you to take your stand against the ascendancy of Popery, and as a part of this duty to declare, by the moral force of truth and Protestantism, that this bill shall never pass.

[The conclusion of the learned gentleman's address was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic bursts of applause, which rendered it difficult to take an accurate report of the concluding sentences. He resumed his seat amid loud and vehement cheering, which lasted for several minutes, and was repeatedly renewed, with cries of one cheer more.]

Alderman WARREN said, he had been called upon to second the resolution which his friend, Professor

Butt, had moved. He agreed with every word of it. The meeting would not expect him (Alderman Warren) to follow the learned professor in all the details which he had laid before them, but he would give them a few words of advice. It was only a few years ago since the Protestant party had been desired by the King to grant great concessions to the Roman Catholics—they complied with the demand; and what was the result? He heard one gentleman say, at the time, that these concessions would take the sting out of the other party, and the necessary consequence would be, that Ireland would be quiet (cries of hear, hear, and laughter.) But what was the result? Large societies of a religious nature were got up—agitation prevailed from one end of Ireland to the other. The plan now was to abolish Protestant corporations—the Protestant aldermen were to be turned out, and Papists put in their places. The people were at length beginning to awaken, and to see the apathy in which they had so long indulged. They should hold their hands up, and raise their voices to the throne. If the corporation parted with their rights and privileges they would be doing an injustice to those who were to come after them (cheers.) He (Alderman Warren) would not detain them much longer. They were assembled at the eleventh hour to defend themselves, and this brought to his mind the siege of Derry. When Lundy was going to give up the fortress, thirteen “prentice boys” collected together at the eleventh hour, or rather within five minutes of the time, shut the gates, and

saved the country. The privileges of the corporation should not be given up without a struggle.

The Rev. Sir ERASMUS BORROWES, Bart., proposed the next resolution, which was to the following effect:—

“Resolved—That Municipal Corporations in Ireland were originated by the state of Great Britain, and designed by those to whom they were conceded as means of maintaining the British connexion, and valued, because found conducive to that end; that since the Reformation they have been further esteemed as instrumental in maintaining the cause of Protestantism and of truth, and that they are still capable of serving the ends to which they have been so long instrumental—the maintenance of Protestantism and British authority in Ireland.”

The resolution was to be spoken to by a gentleman eminently qualified to bring it before the meeting, and therefore he would not detain them any longer—(cheers.)

Mr. THOMPSON came forward, and was received with loud applause—He said: My Lord Mayor, Fellow-Protestants, and Countrymen, as an humble individual I have already protested against this disastrous bill. I was aware that there was a dormant energy in the Protestant heart of Ireland which had to be but



evoked, and which would tell the British minister, in a voice and language which could not be mistaken, that Irish Protestants were ready to vindicate their rights and redress their wrongs (hear, hear, and cheers). But, my lord, sanguine as were my hopes, my anticipations are more than realised by this day's truly splendid meeting. I did not expect to see arrayed before me so much of the real strength and worth—so much of the bone and muscle of the men of Ireland, as well as such an array of our fair countrywomen, not more fair than virtuous (loud cheers). My lord, it is upon no ordinary or passing occasion that this great meeting has been convened. The Protestants are not a people subject to impulse or given to change. They have never yet earned the reputation of being inflammable, turbulent, or seditious (cheers). They have long and uniformly been distinguished as peaceable and loyal, but yet, in the hour of their country's danger, as a brave, determined, and energetic race (loud cheering). When then, my lord, such a people, patient and suffering of wrong, because long accustomed to habits of peace and order, derived from father to son, and cherished from the earliest lessons of childhood, are at length coerced by an imminent and threatened sense of danger, to relinquish their long-used and favourite pursuits, in order to take a part in the unwonted and unwelcomed occupation of politics (hear, hear); when they are constrained to leave their accustomed ways, either to proclaim a government's oppression, or in the absence of a government's protection, to con-

gregate and meet together for mutual defence and co-operation ; when sympathy, under a galling sense of injustice, goes amongst such a community from man to man, and from heart to heart, then, my lord, am I warranted in saying that the day of warning and admonition to rulers is arrived (loud cheering). Then may statesmen, though they run, still read the hand-writing on the wall ; then, my lord, appear those moral and political phenomena in the history of nations, assuredly indicative of coming change and revolution, as is the ruffian blast which always proclaims the approach of winter, or the startling scream of the ominous sea fowl, which unerringly portends the gathering hurricane and storm (loud applause). Thus it is, my lord that matters stand with us ; such are the circumstances which have led to this day's glorious manifestation. It is not choice but necessity—not our pleasure but the welfare of millions which have brought us together—the crisis of our country for good or for evil has come upon us, and in a spirit commensurate with such an emergency, we are, I trust, prepared to act, and if needs be, and Heaven so decree, we are also, I trust, prepared to perish or to conquer (hear, hear, and great cheering). The Protestants of Ireland have of late years been a proscribed class—their past services in the cause of Britain's freedom have, in the evil hour of compromise and expediency, been but too soon forgotten — those principles and feelings which they have been taught in early youth to love and cherish as the basis of Britain's happiness and glory, serve no longer to

lead their maturer years to Britain's praise, or Britain's honour, but to expose them to insult, exclusion, reproach, and outrage. Their church, associated with the fondest and earliest recollections of a parent's love and a pastor's zeal, has been robbed of its revenues, crippled in its usefulness, and paralysed in its efforts to effect a nation's good; and this too done, but done in vain, and in the delusive hope of satisfying the intolerant ambition of a frenzied fanaticism (hear, hear, and loud cheers). But, my lord, this impolitic proscription—for it is unwise and impolitic to estrange England's only true and tried friend in this country (hear, and vehement cheering)—this profligate exclusion of Irish Protestants from places of trust and emolument, are found inadequate to satisfy the hopeful malignity of faction and fanaticism—all this availeth not, while Mordecai, the Jew, sitteth at the King's gate (hear, and great cheering). But as it was with Haman, so it is with Rome—he was hanged high up, and his schemes were ended; so must the unholy aspirings of Rome be crushed by British energy and power, or else the name and religion of Protestants will be extirpated from the soil of Ireland [tremendous cheers]. The penalty of the bond which binds the squeeze-all ministry of England in an unnatural alliance with the vassals of old perjured Rome must not be exacted—the last instalments must yet be paid—the life-blood and religion of Protestants must be offered as a holocaust to appease the accursed and troubled spirit of Popery (loud cheers.) Her anathema is gone forth against them.—



Already is the hand red and reeking with the blood of the murdered and martyred Protestants—(hear)—already does the assassin walk abroad through the breadth of the land, marking his path and progress with desolation and with death ; but, though sure and fatal be his aim, his process of blood-spilling is too slow to slake the thirst of an insatiate and remorseless cruelty ; the work of blood and extermination must be accelerated. The Protestants of Ireland must now meet their doom on every side ; they must meet it as well from the burgess fanatic of the town as from the rustic assassin of the country. The towns and corporations of Ireland, which in the worst time of our wretched country's history, have been a refuge and a shelter against rebellious aggression and outrage, are now to be taken from them and surrendered to the implacable enemies of their race, kindred, and religion (cheers.) The ancient and loyal corporation of Dublin, which alone in 1641, when 70,000 Protestants were swept away by one fell swoop of an infuriate horde, afforded an asylum to the survivors of the slain, and secured this country to Britain, is now to be no more the refuge of the persecuted or the bulwark of freedom—(loud applause.) The ramparts of Derry, manned in 1689 by the hardy sons of Ulster, in heroic devotion to the cause of conscience and of freedom, are now threatened with the desecration of a ruthless and ruffian despotism—no more shall the beat of a drum or the report of a gun be heard on its unconquered walls to commemorate the imperishable valour of her youth-

ful sons (great cheers and sensation.) It is in vain that we protest against this outrage upon our feelings and affections—it is in vain that we remonstrate against this danger to our lives and liberties. The ear of the British minister is deaf to our entreaties. We ask for bread, but receive a stone—we ask for fish, but receive a scorpion. We solicit the protection, precarious though it be, of these towns and corporations, as the only remaining places, in ill-fated Ireland, of security for the lives and properties of the peaceable and loyal; but the minister of England says no—these institutions must no longer be Protestant or loyal; they must no longer remain as the memorials of the triumph of liberty over despotism, of civilisation over barbarism, of light over darkness, of Protestantism over Popery (loud and tremendous cheering.) No! they must now be normal schools of agitation, the hotbeds of sedition, the nurseries of a blighting exotic, the directories of treason. They must now, says England's apostate minister, be transferred to the men whose undying hatred ye (Protestants) have incurred, because of your love and devotion to England's religion and connection (tremendous sensation.) My lord, I have said that these institutions are to be transferred. Yes, my lord, I said so, and not unadvisedly. At the last election for this city, the persons who voted out of the ten pound household franchise were, as nearly as I can make out, in round numbers, as follow: 1800 for the Romish candidates, 600 for the Protestant—the ratio being three to one against the latter; but lower the

standard of qualification, and the ratio will be fearfully greater, because you then descend to a still lower and more numerous class of the gatherings of our lanes and alleys. This is, I submit, a fair criterion whereby to judge of the working of the new municipal bill.—Gloomy, indeed, are the prospects, and melancholy will be the result, if the lives and properties of Protestants are to be subject to the mercies and dominion of such men (hear, hear, and too true.) A municipal franchise of £8, as at present proposed, or of £8 10s., as in the amended bill of last session, will transfer these institutions not to the really liberal and tolerant, not to the civilised or humanised portion even of the Romish community—for such men will eschew mob-rule and dictation—but to the very canaille and rabble, to the very Equimaux of the aboriginal fishery (hear, and great laughter); to the men who can swear crooked and straight, fast and loose, black and white; to the men of beads and holy water; to the men whose thoughts and actions are not their own; to the men whose consciences are used by their priesthood as his stirrups are by the rider, short and long, as suits his purpose or his fancy (cheering and laughter); to the men who can do all this, and yet find a salvo for all in the morality of Dens, and a plenary indulgence in the confessional of Maynooth, is to be committed the new municipal franchise (the cheering here lasted some seconds.) Against such a bill, my lord, we altogether protest—based as it is upon so low and dangerous a franchise, it is incapable of improvement; to suggest



amendments in such a measure is as idle and vain as the effort to produce vegetation on the barren rock, or to reclaim the first of sinners, or the Father of Lies himself (hear, hear, and laughter.) When men speak of amendments in this bill, they but add the insult of mockery to injustice (cries of hear, hear.) It is one remediless disaster and unmitigated evil to the Protestants of Ireland ; it is bad in principle and detail ; it is evil, root and branch ; it is a cancer from head to toe ; its insult will be a fearful aggravation of evils already intolerable—(cries of hear, and cheers)—an additional ingredient in the cup of our sorrows ; it gives a rude shock to the feelings of Protestants ; estranges their affections from England, and thereby fearfully loosens the only bond which unites Great Britain and Ireland (great cheering.) My excellent friend, Professor Butt, has mentioned the corporation of Tuam, the only Popish one in Ireland, as voting away the municipal moneys for the building of mass houses, a timely warning, and specimen of the application of the moneys to be levied under the new corporations ; but I see no reason why they should not proceed one step further, as no doubt they will, and vote large sums for saying masses to hush to bliss and repose the troubled and departed spirit of some unhappy Precursor (hear, hear, and great laughter.) But it will be said, what are the Protestants of Ireland to do in this emergency ? I would say, respectfully but firmly, in the first place, demand of your representatives to give the most strenuous and determined oppo-

sition to this bill, as being not less ruinous to your peace and welfare, than fatal, and that at a period not remote, to British connection. This is no time for men of tricks, shifts, and expedients; have for your representatives men, and only men whose principles are based on the immutable Rock of Ages, and not such as veer as the trickery or expediency of party may suggest (loud cheering.) Demand your just and constitutional right of appearing before the Peers of England, and at their bar expose by your facts and documents the calumny, the falsehood, the "enormous lying" which the venom of faction and fanaticism has poured on every thing having the name and character of Protestantism in Ireland (hear.) Proclaim to the lords and people of England your oppression and your wrongs, and that if you fall, you fall because you are Protestant (loud and continued cheering.) Again approach the throne, and tell her Majesty, with that energy which despair gives to freemen, that you are not aliens in kindred, country, or religion—that you are the sons and descendants of Britain—that you are the children of the men who fought, bled, and conquered for those principles which have placed her family and herself upon the throne of Britain—(immense cheers); but above all, forget not to add that there are still in Ireland, despite a lying census, despite death, extermination, and exile, 100,000 men ready at a moment's notice to peril life, limb, and liberty in defence of her family and person—in defence of religion—the nursery of science—the refuge of dis-

tress, and the bulwark of freedom (hear, and tremendous cheering). Demand for this unhappy country a governor, not such as has just departed from her shores, never, I trust, again to return; but a man exalted in honor as in station—not a beggar in fortune—not a bankrupt in morals—not a disgrace to royalty—not a slave of a faction, and the curse of Ireland (cheers). But take the other alternative—suppose the apostacy of Rome to prevail in the councils of Britain—are the Protestants of Ireland to submit to the curse and degradation? (cries of no no). The nationality and independence of Ireland has passed away—her place has been swept from the book and catalogue of nations—but it was for a union and identification with Protestant England; it was because we rejoiced in the name of Britons—it was because their religion, their genius, their science, their valour, and literature were our boast and our glory (immense sensation and cheering). But Popery has no such attractions for us; she has been the curse, and plague, and pest, of our ill-fated country, and to the death we shall resist her wiles and cruelty. Shall we be trodden to the dust by the iron heel of a midnight despotism? (cries of never, no never). “I would sooner be a dog and bay the moon than such a Roman.” No, I trust, with the blessing of the God of truth, I should sooner say with Ridley in the flames—“While I have life and breath, I shall not deny the truth as it is in Jesus” (loud and protracted cheering). I would tell the British minister that the Protestants of Ireland have a country and



a religion to defend, and that sooner than forsake the one, or betray the other, Ireland shall first be the grave of their martyrdom, or the field of their undying glory. I would say to the Protestants of Ireland be united, be firm, let not divisions be known amongst you—let all colours, and shades, and distinctions, merge in the imperishable hue of orange, and with the blessing of the God of Protestants, a second deliverer not unworthy the part or place of William, will again rise to lead you either to a glorious death or imperishable freedom (great cheering).

Alderman CHARLES P. ARCHER proposed the next resolution, to the following effect:—

“Resolved—That the prevalence of the spirit of sound liberty and truth in Great Britain, and of their happy results, abounding prosperity, and a high state of civilization, renders the union that exists between that country and Ireland most beneficial to the latter; that the increased facilities that have of late arisen for intercourse between the two countries, render it likely that the union will be hereafter more advantageous to Ireland than it has hitherto been, and that, therefore, the maintenance of that union would be regarded as obligatory on all the well-wishers of our country.”

He did not think there was a Protestant in the assembly who dissented from the resolution which he had read. The proposed infamous measure of corporate reform was called a measure entitling the Roman Catholics of Ireland to participate in the franchises of the corpora-

tions as at present existing ; but he felt it was a plan for transferring these institutions entirely into the hands of the Romish party (cheers). The Board of Aldermen were quite of one mind with him, and would support their fellow-citizens cordially on this subject. Alderman Archer, after some further observations, coucluded by moving the resolution.

The Rev. Mr. MINCHIN then came forward. He said, he thought he would be guilty of bad taste if he were, at that late hour, to stand up and do that which he did not feel himself competent to do—to make a long speech. He might fairly say, as the worthy alderman had done, that he had not come prepared to make a speech ; but he told Mr. Quinton that he was ready to co-operate with the meeting to the best of his ability (hear). He rejoiced that the resolutions were put into the hands of so many of the clergy ; for he should say that for many years the clergy of Ireland, as a body, were unwilling to come forward at such meetings as the present, because the arguments advanced at such meetings were based upon an unsound principle. They heard about the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. Now, he would just as soon hear of the humble Protestant freeman, and probably more (hear, hear). The laity had a right to express their sentiments upon the principles of Protestants, based upon the book of God ; and if they stood upon any other ground, or used any other means to build their arguments, however powerful, loyal, and patriotic they might be, they

could not have, as Mr. Gregg had stated, a blessing from the Lord. But the tone of the arguments used that day was in connexion with a pure and sound principle, and they were indented with the book of God (hear). Under these circumstances, he was constrained to second the resolution (hear, hear). Had he seen the Lord Mayor marching with all the paraphernalia of office, dressed with the aldermanic gown, the silver mace placed upon the table—if such were the case, he would say, in the language of Cromwell, “take away that bauble” (cheers). Take away that mace, we are not fighting for so insignificant an object—we are fighting for a reality—for a treasure that is more enriching than silver or gold—for something that is more solid and grand than his lordship’s collar [hear, hear]. If the municipal reform bill were passed, he would not have had the pleasure of seeing the Lord Mayor last Sunday in his church where a charity sermon was preached. Instead of that, a Popish lord mayor would order his coachman to stop at the Church of the Conception, and go in there himself to hear mass (hear, hear). What a novel influence such an exhibition would have upon the country. The people would say, “This is the favoured religion—the Protestants are all wrong—their Bible is deception.” The people of Ireland were very mercurial—they were caught by sights as well as sounds, and a vast number of them would thus be dragged into the vortex of Popery [hear]. As a minister of the Gospel, and a clergyman of the Church of England, he rejoiced at being permitted to stand



there, to advocate the cause for which that meeting was assembled. He remembered reading a valuable article, in a very excellent publication, the *Christian Observer*, in reference to municipal reform, the writer of which illustrated his argument very ingeniously.— Suppose, he said, the town clock happened to be out of order, and a meeting was called by the lord mayor to adopt the best plan to restore it to its former state. One would say that it would be better to let it remain as it was ; another would advise to take it way altogether ; while a third, more politic than either, would suggest that the pivots should be oiled, and the bellows applied to remove the cobwebs and dust from it. Instead of this suggestion being adopted, every man who was unacquainted with the mechanism of the clock would fancy that he could mend and improve it according to his own fashion. If such a meeting were called, and for such a purpose, would they not think very slightly of the wisdom of the men who advocated the mending of the clock in any way but by oiling the pivots and applying the bellows to it? This illustration applied to that meeting, and he trusted that they would take the advice of the men who would suggest the application of means likely to accomplish their object (hear, hear). They should also remember that Protestantism was but another name for pure Christianity ; and he would say to the Protestants of the country, “ let your principles and your profession appear in your lives, and that you protest not only against the errors of Popery, but also against vice, drunk-

eness, and every work of the flesh, of which the apostles spoke (hear, hear). They talked of Popery and its abomination. One of the best arguments against the system would be to show that in their lives they were Christians and children of God [immense cheering].

CHARLES FOX, Esq., rose, amid loud cheers, and said, that if he had the vanity to suppose that he would add force to the statements made this day, or compete with the eulogium of those who preceded him, still it would be unfair to occupy more of their time; therefore, there was no chance of their being troubled by him at any considerable length. Having come to Dublin, he heard by chance of this meeting, and although he was certainly disinclined to come forward here, being unprepared to speak to any particular resolution, he was determined rather to run the risk of failing in argument than shelter himself under the shadow of his own incompetency, and shrink from the performance of a duty which he considered was with every Protestant an imperative one. The resolution which had been handed to him was this, "That the meeting could not contemplate without serious alarm the gradual dispersion of the great majority of the Protestant population" (hear, hear). He was perhaps not inaptly placed there as the person to propose this resolution, because the first place upon which he took his stand, when he entered public life, had been too fertile in examples of the effects of the persecution

of Protestants (hear, hear). It might be called not inaptly the field of blood (hear); and how had that been effected? He would say it was because the Protestants had not been treated as the Roman Catholics (cheers). There had not been any thing like even-handed justice (cheers). If a murder of a Protestant be committed, how difficult is it to trace the murderer? (hear, hear). One reason of that was, that the authority of the men of influence in their counties was reduced, the local magistracy of the country were superseded, and the care of the Castle was given to Roman Catholic agitators and priests (cheers). He spoke of that which he knew. He knew that a Roman Catholic clergyman in his county could get an answer from the Castle by return of post, and a magistrate of the county might wait three or four weeks before they would condescend to answer him (hear, hear). Suppose a murderer be taken, he is put in gaol—what next? When he comes for trial he is allowed to challenge twenty persons without any cause, and the Crown refuses to make an exception from the panel of any person (hear, hear). The Roman Catholic clergy are seen filling the court, giving briefs to the counsel, and procuring subscriptions for the prisoners. If by chance a man were convicted, immediately an application was made to the Castle, and the Castle authorities were too often pressed to listen to their applications (hear). If a Protestant be charged, they give ear to the priest who prosecutes. Was that even-handed justice? Was it not time for every man who



valued Protestantism to come forward, if they had not done so before, and tell the British legislature, while they were legislating for Canada, and while they sate, that they are bound to protect the British settlers in Canada, who were sent there under the faith of British protection; that they are bound to take care of the Irish Protestants who were planted in this country, and who add to the strength of the British empire.— They are bound to do the same justice to them that they have done to the Canada settlers (loud cheers). He would rest his argument on stronger grounds; they are bound to support the connection between religion and the state (cheers). Let them take care that the foundation of British connection be not shaken in this part of the empire [hear, hear]. The only argument he had heard on the other side was, that they had numbers, and that numbers constituted their power. That was never the case. Do not let them suppose, as Burke said, that because some half dozen grasshoppers make the field ring with their importunate clink, while a hundred of the finest cattle repose under the British oak, chew their cud, and are silent, that they, therefore, are the sole inhabitants of the field. [The concluding remarks of the speaker were drowned in loud cheers]. He then read the following resolution:—

“ Resolved—That this meeting cannot contemplate, without deep and serious alarm, the gradual disappearance of the great mass of the Protestant popula-

tion from this country; that we feel that great and growing discontent is abroad among the Protestants of the yeomanry of Ireland, and driving them rapidly to emigration, to escape the persecution to which they are subject at home; and we cannot conceal our conviction that, if the system of giving power to Popery be persevered in, this class of Protestants will soon be lost to the country altogether, and that the establishment of Popish corporations will have inevitably the effect of increasing, to a fearful extent, the discontent which is already deep and universal."

A. SEARLE HART, F.T.C.D., rose to second the resolution, and was received with loud cheering. He alluded to a statistical account which had been already mentioned to the meeting (hear, hear, hear). The only argument in favour of Roman Catholics was, that inasmuch as they had the privilege of having members of parliament selected from amongst them, that it was equally consistent they should be entitled to corporate reform (hear, hear, and cheers). Such concessions were the cause of banishment of the Protestants from Ireland (hear, hear). They then should surrender their rights no further; or if they did, the cause of Protestantism would be deteriorated and materially injured [loud cheering].

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH being called on, came forward and said, at this late hour of the day it is fortunate for myself and this meeting that the resolution which has

been just placed in my hands does not require to be supported by a long speech (hear.) It contains truths which no man can deny, and I shall therefore submit it to the meeting :—

“ Resolved—That while we do not object to any reform which will not compromise the Protestant charters of the corporation, we feel that the experiment of the last ten years abundantly proves the fallacy of the expectations which were held out as the results of emancipation ; the increase of agitation and crime which has since marked every year, and, above all, the violation of the engagements on which the members of the church of Rome were admitted into the legislature, clearly manifest the utter fallacy of conceding additional power to the party who are seeking the subversion of Protestantism ; and that the openly avowed projects of Popish ascendancy which are now entertained—the demands for the total subversion of the Protestant church—the seditious associations which are formed in so many different shapes—and the rapid and fearful demoralization of the peasantry which is accompanying the progress towards a Popish ascendancy, justify us in declaring that the only hope for the peace, the prosperity, and the regeneration of our country is in preserving our institutions, and among them the corporations, essential to Protestants.”

This resolution is, in fact, a speech in itself ; but although it mainly applies to the principle of the present



municipal bill, I feel it right to avail myself of this opportunity to call public attention to some of its details. As the bill of the present session has not been as yet printed, I am obliged to judge of its provisions by reference to the measure of the last session as finally amended by the Lords and Commons, when the sole point of difference which fortunately prevented its then becoming the law of the land was the amount of the qualification of burgesses. But as Lord J. Russell has declared that the bill which he has introduced is substantially similar to that of the former session in its finally amended state, with the exception of the qualification of burgesses clauses—I feel anxious to expose by anticipation some of the trickery of that measure, more especially of the rating clauses; and to point out the great injuries which must result to Roman Catholics as well as Protestants, should any bill similar in form be permitted to pass. Before proceeding to a consideration of the details of this bill, I beg leave to call your attention to the preamble, which contains an important admission as to some of the purposes for which municipal corporations were established in Ireland—namely, to the intent that the cities and towns in which they were established might for ever—aye for ever—**BE AND REMAIN WELL REGULATED AND QUIETLY GOVERNED.** Here we have an admission of at least one of the objects for which such corporations were instituted—that such towns might be well regulated and quietly governed; and without even the colorable pretext that such corporations had failed to attain that object, the

preamble proceeds to declare in the convenient whig phraseology, that it is "expedient" that the charters of these bodies should be altered. In plain English, the preamble unwittingly declares the true object of its framers, which I take to be this: whereas corporate bodies have been at sundry times constituted within cities and towns in Ireland to the intent that the same might be and remain well regulated and quietly governed; therefore, it is expedient that the charters of such corporations should be altered—yes, altered is the phrase—in order that they may produce quite the opposite effect, and that such towns shall no longer remain well regulated or quietly governed. Lest it should be supposed that I have misconstrued the preamble I shall take the liberty of reading it.

"Whereas divers bodies corporate at sundry times have been constituted within the cities, towns, and boroughs of Ireland, *to the intent that the same might for ever be and remain well regulated and quietly governed*; and it is expedient that the charters by which several of the said bodies corporate are constituted should be altered in the manner hereinafter mentioned."

Can any person acquainted with the present condition of Ireland with truth deny that the establishing of municipal corporations in this country, in the manner contemplated by this bill, would have any effect other than perpetuating those sectarian dissensions which

have already blighted this, in other respects, favored land, and which every well-wisher of his country must feel anxious to neutralise or allay. I need only advert to the elections for poor law guardians to shew that the result of any legislation on the basis of the present bill must be to convert the elections for municipal officers into scenes of religious controversy of the most irritating and objectionable character. And yet this is the measure which its promoters would fain persuade you is to promote quiet government—to establish peace and order in the boroughs of Ireland!—Lord John Russell has declared, that he intended that the Irish corporations should be Roman Catholic in towns where the majority of electors were Roman Catholic. To Roman Catholics personally I have no possible objection ; for many I entertain a strong personal regard. But whilst I would be willing to concede to members of that religion equality, I have no notion of yielding to them an ascendancy (hear, hear.) I object to the admission of Roman Catholics into municipal corporations in Ireland, because my experience has taught me that the class of persons who would be elected as town councillors would not meet their Protestant brethren on terms of equality ; that they would not enter the council room or town hall as free agents, capable of acting and thinking for themselves ; that they would not enter into the consideration of questions affecting the administration of corporate affairs impartially, or solely in reference to corporate interests ; but that the advancement of their own religion and its



members, and the unbending despotic will of their priests, must form their leading star; and, in the present condition of this country, any act which would open the Irish corporations to Roman Catholics must, at the same time, amount to a total exclusion of Protestants (hear, hear.)

The question on the present bill really is not so much whether Roman Catholics are to be admitted, but whether Protestants are to be altogether excluded. (hear, hear.) This must be the practical effect of any measure similar to that now proposed. At present, in the selection of poor law guardians, we find that a few Protestants are, in mockery, elected; the proportion generally being about five per cent. or one out of each twenty guardians. In an electoral district, in the County Tipperary, a Roman Catholic petty farmer, named Gleeson, who holds a farm of only 12 acres, the rent of which he is unable to pay, is at present a candidate for the office of guardian, in opposition to a Protestant gentleman, always resident in the county, who holds her Majesty's commission as justice of the peace, and I entertain no doubt of the triumphant success of the former (hear, hear.) Even with a ten pound bona fide qualification, I feel assured that a vastly preponderating majority of town councillors would be elected in every borough to be re-constructed under the proposed bill; and were the result to be different, the strife to be engendered by contests at elections for municipal officers, two or three times a year, could not fail to per-

petuate and aggravate that devastating and ruinous spirit of agitation, the curse of this country, which would draw circles around, or brand with that significant symbol, a death's head and cross bones, the doors of all who dared to exercise that freeborn right of Britons, private judgment.

I shall now proceed to demonstrate that the object of the framers of the present bill is not confined to a mere transfer to Roman Catholics, of all the property and influence at present possessed by the Irish municipal corporations ; but that, not content with such a measure of spoliation, this bill contains provisions to create and place at the disposal of the intended new town councils, at their will and pleasure, without appeal to, or control of, any tribunal, but merely *as they shall think reasonable*, property, as considered in reference to the city of Dublin alone, more than double in amount to that now possessed by all the municipal corporations in Ireland (hear, hear, hear.)—This appears a startling proposition, but I pledge myself to prove its correctness, and I shall, as briefly as possible, point out the trickery by which this would be effected, which, although clumsy, escaped the attention of the Conservative members of both houses of parliament, as the provisions to which I am about to refer were contained in the bill of last session in every form amended and re-amended in which it appeared. I refer to this circumstance to shew the importance of canvassing all the details, and point-

ing out to our friends in parliament, as we may do, objections so multifarious as to lead altogether to its rejection (hear, hear.)

The 66th section\* empowers the council of every borough (under which term Dublin is included) to appoint, annually, a town clerk, "and also such other officers as have been usually appointed in such borough, or as they shall think necessary." Here we find an unlimited power to appoint to old, and create new, officers; to appoint, "if the council think necessary," Mr. Daniel O'Connell, mayor; the Most Rev. Daniel Murray, city chaplain—Mr. Peter Slevin and Mr. Atkins to new offices—say street inspectors, &c. &c.—And then, as to salaries, the same section proceeds—"and shall order to be paid to the mayor, and to the town clerk, and treasurer, and to every such other officer to be employed as aforesaid, such salary or allowance as the said council shall think reasonable"!! (hear, hear.)

Under this clause it is clear that the council may "if it shall think reasonable," order £30,000 or £40,000 a-year to be paid to Mr. O'Connell as mayor; £5,000 a-year to Doctor Murray as chaplain; and say £1000 a-year to each of the street inspectors; and as many other officers "as they shall think necessary" (hear, hear.) I can well fancy that the smiles of some of my

\* The 70th section of the bill of the present session corresponds with that here cited.



friends imply an ironical enquiry of—well, but where are the funds to be had to pay such salaries? It is only necessary to refer to the bill to establish that it affords ample powers to provide funds. By this bill all old corporations are to be extinguished, and new corporations are proposed to be formed in eleven principal cities and towns; all the corporate property of each borough is to be termed “the borough fund.”—The 84th section\* enacts, that the council of any of the new formed boroughs which may not be within the provisions of any local act for lighting, shall assume the powers of commissioners under the general Act 9th Geo. 4, cap. 82, for paving, lighting, or cleansing—an act that has no more reference whatever to Dublin, Cork, Drogheda, &c., than it has to Timbuctoo. Section 9 provides that “the borough fund,” after payment of interest on debts “shall be applied towards the following purposes, that is to say, the payment of the salary of the mayor, and of the recorder, and of the police magistrate hereinafter mentioned, when there is a recorder or police magistrate, and of the respective salaries of town clerk and treasurer, *and of every other officer whom the council shall appoint,*” and towards the other purposes of the act.

I now request your particular attention to the 93d section† which applies to Dublin as well as to Clonmel.

\* 85th in bill of present session.

† 94th section in bill of 1839.

It enacts—

“That in case, after payment of all debts due from such body corporate, the borough fund shall not be sufficient for the purposes aforesaid.” (The purposes aforesaid, referring to the payment of salaries to the mayor and other officers, without limit.) “The said council is hereby authorised and required, from time to time, to order a borough rate to be made within their borough, and for that purpose the council of such borough shall have, within their borough, all the powers and authorities which any commissioners in any borough in Ireland have within the limits of their commission, by virtue of the said last-recited act of the ninth year of the reign of his Majesty King George the Fourth, and shall observe and preserve the provisions thereof, as if the same were herein recited, or as near thereto as the nature of the case will admit.”

Here lies the snake in the grass. Had the provisions of the act referred to been openly stated, the matter would not have stood the broad glare of public light, the job would have been too flagrant; accordingly the archjobber who instigated this plan for plundering the householders of Dublin, would legislate by reference, supposing that few would take the trouble of ascertaining what the provisions referred to were. Referring, however, to that act, it will be found that it authorises a rate to be levied on all occupiers of houses and tenements within the corporate district, to the

extent of 6d. in the pound on all houses valued from £5 to £10; to 9d. in the pound on those from £10 to £20; and to ONE SHILLING IN THE POUND on all houses from £20 upwards (hear, hear, and shame, shame.) The present police rate, at 6d. in the pound, produces, I believe, about £36,000 a-year, and on that ratio the new town council might levy upwards of £70,000 a year off the inhabitants of Dublin, about 4-5ths of which would be levied off Protestants!! (hear, hear, hear.) Applying those provisions to my own case, a rate of £9 a-year might be levied off my house, and a sum of nearly £900 a-year, might be levied off Mer-rion Square alone. These are powers that all parties should oppose. I would not entrust them to any body of men, but above all, to a body whose notions of right and wrong would be so equivocal, and who would not in return be bound to give to the citizens the value of a single drop of water (hear, hear.)

I would also call your attention to the delusive provisions as to the pretended preservation of the elective franchise to freemen, which I am well justified in terming delusive, when it is considered that the mayor is to be the sole arbiter, WITHOUT APPEAL, of the claimants' right to be placed on the freemen's roll. Why not leave the claimant for the franchise in right of freedom to establish his claim before the Registering Barrister with the usual right of appeal, or, if considered necessary, to keep up a connexion between the freemen and the proposed new corporations; why not afford an



appeal similar to that provided for the new burgesses? This however leads me to a consideration of the equally delusive nature of the appeal given in reference to the burgess roll. By the 23d\* section, persons whose names may be omitted from the annual lists, and persons objecting to individuals who may have been included in the list of burgesses, are empowered to give notice of their claims or objections. The 25th section provides, that the mayor and assessor shall hold a court to revise the lists annually, "at some time between the first day of October inclusive, and the 15th of October inclusive, in every year," under which the mayor may fix the 15th of October as the day to hold the revising court; but the 26th section, which authorizes an adjournment of such court from time to time, enacts "That no such adjournment shall be held after the 15th day of October in any year." And thus, supposing a town clerk, the creature of an O'Connellized town council, to omit 2000 names from the list, in collusion with an O'Connell lord mayor who should fix the 15th of October to hold the revising court; is it not clear that the appeal in such case would be a perfect mockery, a palpable delusion? It is true, that corresponding provisions are contained in the English act, but that act operates in a country where Protestantism teaches even the extreme Radicals that the end should not justify the means, and is wholly inapplicable to Ireland in its present debased and degraded moral

\* The 29th, 31st, and 32d sections of the bill of 1839 are similar to the 23d, 25th, and 26th sections here cited.

condition (hear, hear). I think the matters to which I have called your attention are alone sufficient to shew the true character of the present scheme, and excite the vigilance of its opponents. I shall not now detain the meeting by entering into further examination of the details. I feel strongly that there is not a Roman Catholic in this country who values liberty, in the proper acceptation of the term, that has not a deep interest in the maintenance of Protestant institutions, to which, under Providence, we are indebted for that remnant of liberty which still exists here, and which I trust will soon bud forth again in the spring of renewed splendour (hear, and cheers). I have much pleasure in moving that the resolution I have read be adopted, and I would suggest, that all persons before leaving this meeting, sign the petitions to parliament against the proposed municipal corporation bill (cheers).

Mr. CHARLES P. ARCHER, jun., rose to second the resolution, and said—My lord, I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution which has been placed in my hands. With every sentiment of it I most heartily and conscientiously concur. It is not for a bauble, or for mere temporal power, we are now contending. It is for a vital principle—a principle bound up in the existence of Protestantism in this country—a principle in which is involved the question—whether the religion of the Bible is to be the religion of the country, or whether that Bible or its professors are to be

trampled under the feet of Popery? (hear, hear)—whether we are to bow the knee to the Juggernaut of religious despotism, or to still enjoy those blessings which have been handed down to us by our forefathers? (cheers). To those Protestants who are determined to do their duty, the line of conduct is obvious. There are many, I am happy to say, of that description; but there are others of another description, to whom I would offer an observation—it is to those who are only consulting their own interest, regardless of duty. Do they not remember how those Protestants who most warmly advocated their claims to emancipation were afterwards treated—do they not augur from that how any Protestant will be treated; must they not be aware that Papists are only making them tools to attain their desired predominance, and once they reach their eminence they will spurn from their feet the filthy instruments by whose assistance they have attained it? There is another class from whom more danger is to be apprehended, and that is those who, from a conscientious motive, think it would be for the interest of Protestantism, to concede something, in order that we may secure the rest. To those I say, are they blinded so completely to passing and past events—are they so ignorant of the designs of Popery—do they so completely shut their ears to the open avowal of their intention as to imagine that a partial concession will secure their non-interference? Every concession is accepted but as an instalment—every thing that has been already conceded to them



has been but accepted as such; it has increased their power and augmented the energies with which they pursue the attainment of their ulterior views, namely, the total subversion of Protestantism in this country (hear). Give them the corporations, and that power will be augmented to a fearful extent; they will then come forward with a fearful efficacy in demanding the destruction of the church, and of every thing Protestants hold dear; that must be the inevitable result, independently of the monstrous persecutions which in the mean time will be the lot of the unfortunate Protestants in this land (hear). It is with feelings of deep regret I read the only notice of Ireland in the speech of her most gracious Majesty, dictated by a ministry the most imbecile and the most destructive of liberty that ever cursed this country. It is there mentioned, that corporate reform is essential to the prosperity of Ireland. We, as Protestants, do not deny that reform is necessary; this resolution acknowledges the utility of it; but this we deny—that a reform which admits Popery is salutary. So far from it, that I think it would be ruinous to Ireland, and entail ultimate ruin on the British empire. Whatever reform we have, let it be essentially Protestant in its nature, any thing else we will oppose to the death—our lives, properties, every civil and religious privilege we hold dear is at stake. In consequence of the power already acquired by Roman Catholics, every expression of veneration for those events which secured freedom for all classes in this empire, is held

up as a violation of the law—is a disqualification for every office in the state. Those sentiments entwined round the heart of every loyal man, of respect and esteem for the memory of those glorious struggles which placed the illustrious family of our Queen upon the throne, are stigmatised as little less than treason (hear, hear). Such has been the result of the power of Popery, working upon a pusillanimous and unprincipled ministry, and what will be the result of further power, we may, I think, with confidence, anticipate. Whilst handing over corporations to that party was the only allusion made to unhappy Ireland—every mention of its deplorable state was carefully avoided—not a word about the total recklessness of social order which exists was uttered—not a syllable of that worse than barbarous state of demoralization which pervades so much of this benighted land. I say it is worse than barbarous, and it is with pain I am obliged to say it of my native country—but it is too true to be concealed. How, then, are we to account for this? It can only be accounted for in this way. By the superadding to, and superinducing on, the natural depravity of man, and on minds naturally susceptible of impressions, whether of good or evil—a system of morals calculated to taint the secret springs of action, and to pollute the frame of society at its very source. I say this for the honor of the natural dispositions of my countrymen, who, I am confident, would, if they had the Bible for their rule of life, be as fine a people as the sun ever shone upon ;

people of warm hearts and generous sympathies, who, if properly managed, would be an ornament to the crown of our youthful Sovereign (cheers). I conclude, my lord, with expressing my hearty concurrence with the sentiments of the resolution, and calling upon the assembled multitude I now address to adopt it (cheers).

The resolution was carried.

The Rev. H. E. PRIOR.—My Lord Mayor and brother Protestants, I have the honor of moving the following resolution :—

“ Resolved—That as the invasion of our corporate rights, as Protestants, would naturally militate against the best interests, when seriously considered, of all the Irish people, so would it be effected in direct opposition to numberless charters, granted to us from time immemorial, as rewards for unalterable fealty to the British Constitution in Church and State, and that if those charters by which, as humble Irish Protestant freemen, we hold our rights, be set at nought, we cannot see on what ground the great proprietors of the land should consider that property of theirs secured which can boast no stronger title than grants and charters not more ancient than our own. That, therefore, if these our charters be set at nought, the sacredness of property is tampered with, and we shall not be surprised if a judicial disregard for rights in



General be allowed to grow upon the community, which shall ultimately terminate in the disruption of Society, and the dispersion of those largely accumulated properties which may be said to be entailed in family corporations."

My lord, I feel ready to shrink within myself when called upon to address such a meeting as this—a meeting consisting of Protestants from all quarters of the Kingdom. I had not the slightest idea of addressing you when I entered the room, after having walked seven miles to witness this glorious gathering (cheers). I beg to respond to the sentiment uttered by my respected and valued friend, and Rev. brother, Minchin, that it is high time for the ministers of the Church of Christ to stand as watchmen on the walls of our Zion, and to take an active part in all that concerns our constitutional privileges (hear). We have not parted with our rights as citizens by entering into the sacred order of the ministry. The gentleman who handed me this resolution, remarked that there was some difficulty in my proposing a resolution having these words—"or the invasion of corporate rights." My lord, it is these very words that fasten me, as it were, to this resolution—as a Protestant Minister I claim to be identified with the existence and rights of corporate property in this country (cheers). I hail the Protestant corporation as the safeguard of my rights; and, my lord, I consider it the duty of every Protestant Minister to co-operate with their fellow-citizens

in defence of their ancient rights and privileges. I say it is high time to do so, when we behold the arch fiend—the arch demagogue—I will not pollute my lips by giving utterance to his base, inglorious name—that enemy of his country—that antipodes of every thing that is patriotic in the land—when he has ventured to propagate an idea that we are, forsooth, to have a Popish Provost, and Popish Fellows in the University (loud cheers). Since this movement has been made—which I consider a movement for good—my ears have been assailed on all sides with the cry of despondency—“ Oh ! it is all too late—Oh ! you are the day after the fair—the whole matter is determined on—you need not stir one jot or tittle ” (loud cheers). But, my lord, the sentiment expressed by Nelson, when a stripling, “ I have never known what fear is,” is a favorite sentiment with Protestants [hear, hear]. No Protestant need ever fear—trusting in the strong arm of the Almighty, all their enemies shall be overcome, and every ground for despondency completely removed. In the physical world while there is life there is hope ; and it is equally true in a moral sense. The Protestant corporations are, thank God, yet breathing, and, therefore, there is hope. Yes, my lord, and I see around me ground for rich and glorious encouragement—I see before me a multitude of Protestants, and I doubt not of valiant Orangemen, who will cheer on each other in this glorious undertaking with the cry of “ No Surrender ” [cheers].—Are not the Protestant ladies of the city also with

us—how many thousand lovely faces in the gallery are this moment encouraging us with their smiles [much cheering]. The rev. gentleman, after alluding to the eloquent speech of the hon. Somerset Maxwell, delivered after his return as representative for the county of Cavan, which, he said, he had read in the *Statesman* with the greatest gratification, resumed his seat amid long-continued cheers.

Mr. W. C. KING seconded the resolution.

High Sheriff GRANT, who was received with loud Cheers, proposed the next resolution. He had not intended to address the meeting, but it was pressed upon him, that, from his station in the corporation of Dublin, he should not retreat from a paramount duty (cheers). The interests of the corporation were dear to every one of them, and he hoped he would not be the last Protestant sheriff in the city of Dublin (applause). They were now called upon to address the two houses of parliament, and to address the Queen. From one of the houses of parliament the corporation could not expect much attention, but he had hopes in the other. He (Sheriff Grant) felt delighted that he would be one of the party who would have an opportunity of addressing her Majesty upon the throne, and he hoped her answer would become a Protestant sovereign. He believed it was the right of the corporation to receive an answer from the sovereign, and he



hoped it would be satisfactory to the meeting. He concluded by proposing the following resolution:—

“ Resolved—That the following petition, as embodying the sense of the meeting, be signed and sent to both houses of parliament, and presented as an address to her Majesty.”

### THE PETITION.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORDS SPIRITUAL  
AND TEMPORAL; OR, TO THE HONORABLE THE  
COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, IN PARLIA-  
MENT ASSEMBLED.

The Humble Petition of the Protestants and Freemen of the City of Dublin, agreed to at a Great General Meeting, held in the King's Room, at the Mansion-House, Dublin, on Friday, the 22d February, 1839, the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor in the Chair,

“ SHOWETH,

“ That your Petitioners do firmly hold and regard, as more valuable than life itself, those principles of religious truth which, originating in the primitive church, were happily established in the United Kingdom at the time of the Reformation; principles which are recognised by the fundamental laws of the realm, and which are the source of our constitutional liberty and national greatness.

“That your Petitioners most respectfully and humbly remind your Honorable House, that our ancestors, in their wisdom, considered it their duty to construct the institutions of our country in such a manner as that they might be fences and bulwarks for the maintenance of those sound principles, and against the encroachment of such principles as, being erroneous, false, and unsound, must necessarily, by their prevalence, conduce to the essential injury of the people, whether as regarded individually, socially, or nationally.

“That your Petitioners, as Protestants, do proudly refer to the condition of England and Scotland, as exhibiting the happy results which flow from the prevalence of Protestantism in nations, while, on the other hand, in the deplorable state of this, their country, Ireland, they recognise themselves, and earnestly call the attention of your Honorable House to the inseparable consequences connected with the national prevalence of Popery.

“That your Petitioners deeply lament, that the system adopted, with respect to Ireland in the past times, has not been productive of that effect, namely, the reformation of the people, which can alone remove the evils that abound in this country.

“That your Petitioners, while they admit the necessity for a change of system, do nevertheless, earnestly and humbly contend that the same object, to wit, the

reformation of the country, should continue to be the first, the paramount, the leading object, of a Christian legislature, legislating for Ireland, on Christian principles.

“ That, in conformity with these views, your Petitioners do heartily and sincerely deprecate a plan for the reform of the Municipal Corporations of Ireland, which is constructed on an entire disregard of the grand principles above mentioned; a plan which, as far as it may, sets at nought the barriers that should exist between truth and falsehood; which, by the abandonment of the test of Protestantism, and by the admission of the enemies of the Established Church, will ultimately render the Irish Corporations, in effect, Popish; will legalise and perpetuate popular disturbance, placing in the hands of our adversaries, as has been well said, ‘ Normal schools of agitation,’ which will be made to work, as with the sanction of the law, for the disruption of the British connection—the overthrow of the Church—the perpetuation of barbarism, religious error, and general destitution within our borders.

“ That your Petitioners humbly submit, that those concessions to the demands of Roman Catholics which have hitherto been made, have been productive of all the evils anticipated from them, and have not been followed by any one of the expected benefits, save and except, perhaps, this one, that they have afforded



to the Protestants of the empire in general, salutary experience of what may be expected from the pledges of Roman Catholics, when the interests of Romanism are concerned: our church has been, to a considerable extent, dismembered—its property confiscated—its very existence is denounced; while other claims, tending towards Popish ascendancy, are urged upon the alternative of the Repeal of the Union. Indeed, it is not denied, that it is for the effectuation of these purposes that Corporate Reform is so earnestly desired.

“That, on these premises, your Petitioners do earnestly beseech your Honorable House, that in whatever bill you may pass for the reform of the Irish Municipal Corporations, you may be graciously pleased carefully to provide for the maintenance of their Protestant integrity.

“And your Petitioners will ever pray.”

Major CRAWFORD seconded the resolution.

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*The following is the Petition presented by the Lord Mayor of Dublin at the Bar of the House of Commons, March 8th, 1839:*

TO THE HONORABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED  
KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, IN  
PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

The Humble Petition of the Right Hon. the Lord

Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the City of Dublin, being the Corporation of said City.

“HUMBLY SHEWETH,

“That your Petitioners humbly approach your Honorable House, to pray protection for their rights and privileges, as Members of the ancient Corporation of the City of Dublin.

“That your Petitioners and their ancestors have possessed these rights and enjoyed these privileges by a title hitherto held sacred, namely, the prescriptive usage—by charters co-existent with British dominion in Ireland, and by the statute law of the land.

“That from the earliest period of which the history of this Corporation is known, it has been invariably and honorably distinguished for its fidelity to British connexion, its attachment to British institutions, and its devotion to the Royal Family and Crown of England.

“That its zeal for the maintenance and advancement of the Protestant faith, ever since the Reformation, has especially excited against this Corporation during the same period, the bitterest hatred and malignity of the enemies of the reformed religion.

“That, previous to the Union of Ireland with Great Britain, the several Corporations of Ireland were the possessions of its Protestant inhabitants—the policy of

England having created many of them for the preservation of its own interests through the instrumentality of its own religion, and the remainder, like the general property of the country, having become vested in Protestant proprietors.

“ That, with the vast preponderance given at that period to Protestant interests, by the ownership of the soil and Corporations of Ireland, *that Union could never have been effected against, or without, the free consent of its Protestant inhabitants.*

“ That Protestant and English interests in this country have, until a late period, been ever deemed convertible terms, your Petitioners, like their ancestors, feeling no shame from the imputation of a Saxon descent, which, intended as a reproach, has ever been the pride of your Petitioners, as evidence of an hereditary loyalty and their birthright to an inheritance of freedom.

“ That the Protestants of Ireland, having the power to decline and to resist a Union between the two countries, *relying, nevertheless, upon the faith, honor, and integrity of the Protestant people of England, agreed to that great national compact*, by which the kingdoms have been united, ‘in order,’ as the statute declares, ‘to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire.’



they were intended ; but if, in the altered circumstances of the country, the result of a legislation which has not produced all its promised fruits of contentment and peace, it shall seem impossible to your Honorable House to continue to your Petitioners the rights to which they deem themselves entitled, your Petitioners would then humbly pray, that those Corporations might be altogether abolished ; and that the enemies of all order might not be put into possession of those defences of our religion from which good and faithful subjects shall have been driven. We are well aware of the pretence which is ever upon their lips, that nothing but equality is sought. We assert that pretence to be fraudulent, and that an ascendancy fatal to Protestantism is their object. The Protestants of Ireland are more than two millions ; they know and value liberty as much as those who would be their oppressors. If they who have so long enjoyed privileges derived from their ancestors, and which they consider to have been well earned by centuries of good and loyal conduct under trying circumstances, shall be content to see those privileges destroyed, we are at a loss to conjecture upon what ground of inferiority or injustice those who never enjoyed any such privileges can complain. There can be no ascendancy to either party in Corporations which have ceased to exist ; and the fraud is still greater, when the enemies of Protestantism attempt to infer any analogy, or to deduce any argument, from the continuance of Municipal Corporations in England, a country where the great body of the

people is of the established faith, whereas in Ireland a large majority of its inhabitants can no longer conceal their abhorrence of our Protestant church, nor relax for an hour in their efforts for its destruction.

“ Your Petitioners respectfully submit that the first result of such a transfer of corporate power as is contemplated by the present bill would be, to *leave the Protestant interest of Ireland, to a great extent, defenceless and unrepresented in Parliament*, inasmuch as that interest can never, for the said Corporations, after the passing of such a Bill, (as your Petitioners fully believe,) *return a single representative*; and they submit that such a result can hardly be considered just, when it is known that the Protestants of Ireland, possessing, as they do, three-fourths of its soil and property, are *unable at this moment, to command one-third of its representation*.

“ YOUR PETITIONERS HUMBLY DECLARE THEIR CONVICTION THAT THE ULTIMATE, AND NOT FAR DISTANT, EFFECT OF SUCH A MEASURE WILL BE THE ENTIRE OVERTHROW OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND, AND THE RUIN OF THE PROTESTANT PEOPLE, IN WHICH EVENT THEY HAVE THE CONCURRENCE OF MANY GREAT AND EMINENT MEN IN BELIEVING THAT THE LAST AND FIRMEST LINK WHICH BOUND THE TWO COUNTRIES WILL HAVE BEEN DISSOLVED, AND A REPEAL EFFECTED BY THE BRITISH PEOPLE THEMSELVES OF THE SOLE UNION

WHICH COULD CONSOLIDATE THE STRENGTH, POWER,  
AND RESOURCES OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

“ Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray your Honorable House to take into your consideration the case of your Petitioners, and the rights, privileges, and claims of the ancient and loyal Corporation of the City of Dublin, and to take such measures as your Honorable House shall, in its wisdom, deem most proper for the due protection of your Petitioners, and of the said Corporation, and for securing to the said Corporation the just enjoyment of its ancient and undoubted privileges.

“ And your Petitioners will pray.”

Mr. TIBEAUDO proposed the next resolution. They were permitted, said the speaker, to meet by the kindness of the Lord Mayor, and he thanked God that the privileges of the Corporation were not yet transferred to popish hands. At that late hour he would not trouble the meeting by making any further observations, and concluded by proposing the following resolution:—

“ Resolved—That the warm thanks of this meeting are owing to the Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, the Board of Aldermen, and the Commons of Dublin, for the exertions which they have made in defence of the Irish Municipal Corporations, and that they be hereby



entreated to continue in the same line of valuable labour.”

Dr. MEYLER said—I feel much pleasure in being called on to second the vote of thanks to the Lord Mayor, and to the Board of Aldermen and Commons of Dublin. It is delightful to behold the strong determination evinced by this numerous and respectable assembly, to stand by the principles of the Bible, and in support of our Protestant institutions. I trust the glorious example which has been set here this day will be followed by every town, and village, and hamlet in Ireland, and that they will re-echo with one voice the cry of “no surrender” (great cheers.)

GABRIEL STOKES, Esq. proposed the next resolution as follows:—

“Resolved—That the thanks of this meeting are justly due, and are hereby given to that portion of the Press of the United Kingdom which has, in this trying crisis, advocated the rights of the Protestants of Ireland, by resisting the proposed measure for confiscating their charters.”

Mr. MALLET seconded the resolution. He said that the municipal reform bill was that measure which would break down the last barrier opposed to the entrance of the papists into parliament. The Catholic relief bill was an excellent “precursor” to that measure. He

should apologise to the meeting for trespassing upon them at that advanced period in the discussion of the day ; but he was encouraged to make a few observations, in consequence of the patient hearing which he had always received from his friends, the honest free-men of Dublin, upon all occasions, perhaps most undeservedly (cries of no, no, and cheers.) The object of the meeting was one of considerable importance, and he for one should not have neglected his business for eleven days if he did not conscientiously feel that he was engaged in a holy work (great cheering.) It was incumbent upon every individual to exert his energies in the cause as if the maintenance of Protestantism and good government depended upon him (cheers.)—They should actually inundate the houses of parliament with petitions, and reiterate their complaints till they were heard (cheers.) The assemblage, as all could see, was a most crowded one, and he was sure that one thousand or two thousand persons had obtained tickets who could not get room in the meeting. The deepest debt of gratitude was due to Mr. Jones for being the first to originate the “movement” which they then were making. The speaker then alluded to the coldness evinced by some of the Dublin and London papers in reference to their proceedings. He did not wish immediately to allude to any newspaper in particular, as having advocated their cause—but he could not refrain from saying that the *Statesman* and *Warder* were pre-eminently conspicuous amongst the number which had taken the right view of the question (hear.)

Mr. BUTT then moved a resolution to the effect, that the Lord Mayor, the movers and seconders of the resolutions, be formed into a committee to arrest the progress of municipal reform, and that liberty be given to add to the numbers of that committee—to hold public meetings whenever they deemed it advisable, at which all the freemen of the city were entitled to attend and vote. The object of this resolution was quite obvious. He wished to keep up the agitation that day commenced (hear.) His excellent friend, Mr. Mallett, had observed that numbers had left the meeting in consequence of being unable to obtain admittance. This was perfectly true; and not a few, to his own knowledge, had complained that sufficient time had not been allowed to enable their friends in the country to attend the meeting (hear.) He wanted to form, he confessed it, an anti-Popish association (great cheering.) If such meetings took place frequently, no Popish municipal reform bill would pass (cheers.)

The LORD MAYOR expressed a wish that his name would be omitted from the names of the committee, as he would not be able to attend their meetings. This was accordingly done.

The Rev. Sir E. BORROWES was called to the chair, and thanks were given to the Lord Mayor for his dignified conduct as chairman.





## APPENDIX.

At the City Quarter Assembly on October 19th, 1838, JOHN JONES, Esq., ex-Sheriff, moved for a Committee to adopt the best means of bringing the case of the Dublin Corporation before Parliament; in the following speech: it was seconded by THOMAS JAMES QUINTON, Esq., and carried unanimously:—

In introducing the motion, Mr. JONES, spoke as follows—Mr. Sheriff, there is a subject which I think cannot come too soon under our consideration, and I therefore take this opportunity of calling attention to it—I mean the position in which we stand in reference to what is termed municipal reform. I am not going to enter on a general discussion of the subject—it is too copious for the present occasion, nor will I dilate on the motives or objects of its strenuous advocates—these are too well known—they have been too openly avowed for us to have any doubts respecting them—it is our

own peculiar position as a corporate body to which I shall direct my remarks. Notwithstanding all that has been said on this question, both in and out of parliament—notwithstanding the attention that has been devoted to it, and notwithstanding some of our own body are members of the British senate—I say, notwithstanding all this, I am told, on the authority of an eminent counsel, a member of parliament, that the House of Commons does not know, has never known, has never been made acquainted with our real position—and furthermore, he says that if that house did know our position, it would not entertain the question of corporate reform as it relates to Dublin. The fact is, Sir, this, like many other important questions, has been regarded not in reference to principle and right, but in reference to expediency—and this, I conceive to be the bane of modern policy—(hear, hear)—but to the point. The Dublin Corporation rests, in the first place on a particular and specific charter, as sacred in itself, I take it, as any charter in existence, and in the next, our corporate rights and privileges, as they are now enjoyed, were specially recognised and confirmed by Lucas's act, and doubly so by the act of union (cheers). These being incontrovertible facts, we should rest the strength of our case mainly on them, and take care that they be fully put forward and argued in the House of Commons; and these acts of parliament should be produced and read in the house, as well as our title deeds, which I am told has never been done. Shall we be told, Sir, that charters are no better than waste



Paper—mere pieces of parchment with bits of wax attached to them? I am sorry to say that it has been too much the fashion of late to speak of them in this way; and, Sir, are acts of parliament, solemn and deliberate acts of the imperial legislature, to be regarded in the same light? I cannot believe it; it is absurd; it is monstrous to suppose it; persons who entertain such notions ought to be sent to St. Luke's and not to St. Stephen's (hear, and cheers). I say, Sir, the sooner we take up this matter the better; no time should be lost; steps should be taken during the parliamentary recess to secure to this ancient and loyal corporation every advantage which its peculiar position can command; so that when the subject is again brought before parliament it may be grappled with at once on a principle as firm, as binding, and as sacred as the one on which the Queen sits on the throne, or on which noblemen and gentlemen hold their titles and estates; indeed on the principle on which every tenure and every description of property in Great Britain is held—that is to say, the principle of national faith (cheering). In order that the subject may not be lost sight of, I beg to move that a committee be formed to consider the best means to adopt at this important juncture to bring the case of the Dublin Corporation fairly and clearly before the legislature in the event of the question of municipal reform being again agitated (loud and continued cheers).

*At a Post Assembly of the Corporation, held on December 28th, the High Sheriff in the chair, the committee made their Report, as follows :—*

Mr. High Sheriff GRANT said he held in his hand the report of the committee appointed to conduct city business in parliament.

The report was then read by the clerk :

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR CONDUCTING THE  
CITY BUSINESS IN PARLIAMENT.

“ Your committee having patiently and industriously laboured in the discharge of the duties entrusted to them, after mature consideration, resolved on recommending to the corporation at large the most prompt and decisive line of action, in defence of its rights, interests, and privileges.

“ Your committee are decidedly of opinion, that the case of the corporation has never been properly and clearly brought before parliament, consequently that their Protestant brethren in England and Scotland, as well as in this country, are ignorant of the real position of this ancient, loyal, and constitutional body.

“ Your committee, therefore, recommend that the corporation do, forthwith, emphatically call upon the several guilds in this city to meet, and take into imme-

diate consideration the dangers by which it is beset—to consider the object and tendency of what is termed municipal reform, and prepare petitions to both houses of parliament, respectfully, but firmly expressed, praying to be heard by counsel, and to be allowed to produce evidence at the bar of either house, before any bill affecting them be allowed to pass into a law.

“Your committee are fully convinced—indeed they have the assertions of the parties themselves—that the object of the Roman Catholics in reference to municipal reform, is to convert the new corporations into “normal schools of agitation,” with a view to the ultimate subversion of the Protestant religion, the destruction of the house of lords, and the extinction of civil and religious liberty; the result of which would be, the complete domination of an illegitimate and foreign spiritual influence, which has always been the “precursor” of national degradation, and of the worst kind of mental slavery.

“Your committee, impressed with the paramount importance of the objects in view, regarding them infinitely more as national than as individual, or even as corporate interests, recommends that every means be taken to secure the co-operation of Protestants of all classes, and under all names, not only in this, but in the sister kingdoms. That communications be immediately opened with the leading men in the Protestant cause in every part of the empire, but more particularly



throughout Ireland, calling on them to unite with them, heart and hand, in defence of our Protestant institutions, in which are involved the throne and the altar, and, as a matter of course, British connexion.

“Your committee feel that many and various are the means which may be made available in this momentous struggle; but, perhaps, one of the most important is to confine our support at all future parliamentary elections to men about whose staunch, steady, and uncompromising adherence to Protestant principles there can be “no mistake;” and to give our strenuous opposition to all men who we have reason to believe will be likely to yield to the fallacious doctrine of “expediency,” which appears to the committee to be the crying sin of this generation.

“Your committee, taking a wide and comprehensive view of the bearings of the question in which they are engaged, are fully convinced that Mr. O’Connell spoke advisedly when he said, “give me corporate reform, and I will get every thing else;” and they, therefore, feel that if a stand be not made on this point, a question of a very different nature will very soon force itself on the consideration of the imperial legislature, and on which they will not have much time to deliberate, viz.:—Shall the Protestant church in Ireland be entirely given up, or the bill of 1829, which admitted Roman Catholics into parliament, be repealed.

One step more in the career of concession, and this dilemma will be the inevitable consequence.

“ Your committee, in conclusion, beg to express an opinion that the funds of the corporation can never be more usefully or more legitimately employed than in defending its rights and in perpetuating its existence, and they would therefore recommend that no false notions of economy should be allowed to cramp the exertions of the corporation at this most important crisis.”

Mr. JONES, ex-Sheriff, came forward and said—Mr. High Sheriff, I move, Sir, that the report which we have just heard be received, and that it be printed. It must, Sir, be a source of heart-cheering gratification to every Protestant—to every Conservative—to every man interested in the welfare of our common country, to find the Dublin corporation, as it were, at the eleventh hour, coming forward in this spirited manner to vindicate its character—to perpetuate its existence—to defend its rights, and to take a prominent part in advocating those constitutional principles with which are associated our dearest recollections and our fondest hopes (hear). This is a time, Sir, when it behoves every man to take a decided part, and to speak out; and I congratulate this corporation on having shaken off an apathy totally unworthy of the cause in which it has always professed to take so deep an interest, and on having taken a position from which it cannot recede

but with disgrace, but from which it can move forward with a well-founded hope of a happy and glorious issue. At any rate we may be certain of this—that if we go forward boldly—if we acquit ourselves manfully—if, with a steady and determined resolution, we devote all our energies to the defence of our Protestant institutions, we shall receive the sympathy, be cheered by the applause, and assisted by the co-operation of as patriotic, and it may be as powerful, a confederacy as was ever in this or in any other country arrayed in defence of civil and religious liberty; and if, after all, we should fail, we shall have the proud satisfaction that we have done our duty (cheers). Sir, it is highly gratifying to me to find that this subject is already taken up in circles where it will be treated as it ought, and as its vital importance demands. The eloquent and powerful speeches recently delivered at the Conservative meetings in Dawson-street, by Professor Butt, Mr. Thompson, and many others, will be read with intense interest, and will produce an electric effect in every corner of the British empire. The time is come, Sir, when these “little republics,” as the Recorder aptly called the corporations, must and will stand out in their genuine and original character, as the nurseries of freedom and the bulwarks of constitutional principles (cheers). Greatly as the Dublin corporation has been maligned—industrious as have been its enemies, aided and assisted as they have been by an unfriendly government—not one single charge has been established against it, except, indeed, one of



which it has the greatest reason to be proud, viz., that it has always, up to the present moment, consistently maintained its exclusive Protestant character (cheers). And, Sir, seeing now the course adopted by the Roman Catholic party—seeing that every concession is followed by fresh demands—that life and property are becoming daily more and more insecure—that a deep-rooted and well organised conspiracy to defeat the laws, by passive resistance, was concocted by Romish Bishops, who personally superintended its operation, and applauded its success—that millions of precursors are, as fighting men, to petition the Queen for justice to Ireland—that is to say, the destruction of the Protestant church ; and, if refused, are, in a spirit of defiance, to demand a repeal of the union—and seeing, moreover, that the new corporations are intended to be converted into “normal schools of agitation” for the attainment of these illegal objects—I say, Sir, that the Dublin corporation, seeing all this, is determined by every possible means to resist all further concession, and to remain, as it has hitherto been, an exclusively Protestant body. (cheers). Let it continue to be denounced ! Let it, if it must be so, be doomed to destruction ; but let it hold fast its integrity to the last, and then, though it may lose its existence, its fair fame will be untarnished, and generations yet unborn will admire and applaud its consistent and uncompromising conduct (hear, hear). But, Sir, I do not despair. This is not the first nor second time that this corporation has been in danger. In the time of James II.

every means which artful and designing men, aided by power and patronage, could devise, were used to destroy this barrier to arbitrary power, but all in vain. Neither persecution nor bribery could affect it—it survived the ordeal and acquired a proud and lasting fame (applause). Similar attempts were made towards the latter end of Queen Anne's reign, and with similar results. At this time Sir Constantine Phipps, the grandfather of the present Marquess of Normanby, was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and he was afterwards pronounced guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, and was dismissed the privy council for the part which he acted in the business (loud cheers). It is worthy of remark, that whenever attempts have been made to undermine the constitution and to destroy our liberties, it has always been thought necessary to begin with the destruction or corruption of the corporate or municipal authorities. The proceedings of the Dublin corporation at the periods referred to are shown in parliamentary reports, and are well deserving the attention of our rulers at the present day ; but perhaps the analogy between the times would be too striking to be palatable (hear, hear.) The patriotic and incorruptible firmness of the corporation received the highest commendations, not only from parliament, but from Majesty itself, for having maintained its rights and its principles, to the entire discomfiture of the intriguing and treacherous party that was then plotting against it—indeed, no municipal body was ever so tested and so commended as the corporation of Dublin then was. Let us act the

same steady, firm, and consistent part now, and who knows but it may be followed by the same results (applause.) We are unfortunate, sir, in not having a single member in the house of commons boldly and consistently to advocate our cause. There was one, indeed, in whom we confided, and on whom we thought we had some claim ; but we find that he has consented, without even consulting us, and, I fear, without remembering his corporation oath, that our " little republic " should be given up, or that its rights and powers should be transferred to hostile parties ; and I believe it will be found that all his labours in our behalf amounted to his having brought in a bill in conjunction with Mr. O'Connell, to provide compensation for the officers of the corporation ! (hear, hear.) Sir, I disclaim all hostile feelings whatever towards the Recorder. I admire his talents and his eloquence, and should fully appreciate and prize his honest and strenuous advocacy of any cause in which I took an interest. I admire his manners, and have to acknowledge his uniform politeness and attention to me, personally, at all times. But this cannot deter me from stating my conscientious opinion, that he has not stood by the corporation in the manner which we had a right to expect. There is no doubt that Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington looked on him as our organ ; and when he consented to the principle of the bill of last session, it was considered by them that he represented our opinions and feelings. This we deny. We never have been, and we never will be, consenting parties to any such



bill (hear, hear.) Now I say, clearly and distinctly, that if the Recorder continue to go with the stream against us—if he persist in being a party to farther concession—if he persevere in advocating the temporising policy, which has been so much in fashion of late, I, for one, shall rejoice in seeing him ejected from the University at the next election, and I will do all I can to effect it, and I am sure the whole corporation will go with me, which will be only acting in accordance with the recommendation of the parliamentary committee in the report now before us (hear). But, Sir, if the right honorable and learned gentleman will retrace his steps—if he will now join us heart and soul, I am sure we shall all be delighted to receive him again into our ranks—indeed to hail him as our leader, and to fight under his banner. But we must have no parleying, no temporising, we must all be in earnest; determined to uphold our rights, interests, and privileges; to defend our ground inch by inch. And, Sir, feeling that our grand and primary objects are, the preservation of the Protestant church, the defence of the British constitution, and the maintenance of British connection, our motto must be “*nil desperandum*,” and our watch-word “no surrender!” (loud cheers). In my recent intercourse with members of parliament, Sir, I have discovered that a seat in the House of Commons, so far from expanding the mind with the consciousness of additional liberty, has quite the opposite effect. A man who, on the hustings, declaims, with all the energy of a Demosthenes, in favour

of principle, and duty, and rights, and independence, no sooner enters the walls of St. Stephen's but he swallows the pill of "expediency," and places his judgment and his vote at the disposal of some political leader (cheers). I suppose this may account for the general dulness of parliamentary debates (hear, hear). Well, Sir, we must see what we can do to affect the nerves of those leaders, and I believe our only plan, under the circumstances, is to have recourse to a little wholesome agitation (hear, and cheers). Our enemies agitated; they were clamorous; they were seditious; they carried on a predatory war; they did every thing but break out into open rebellion, and they are pampered, caressed, patronised, yielded to, and are at this time governing the government. We, the Protestants of Ireland, have been mild and placid, we gave up our defensive associations (and all our associations were purely defensive); we dissolved the orange society; we discontinued conservative meetings; we trusted to the good sense, the wisdom, the justice, and the sympathy of the imperial legislature, and we have been neglected, thrown overboard, and sacrificed. Shall we any longer tamely and silently submit to this? I say emphatically, we will not. We will make ourselves heard, and we will rouse a spirit that shall disturb the tranquillity of the conservative leaders; we will cry "justice for Ireland" with a Stentorian voice; and the cry will be responded to by a host of "good men and true," who will agitate and combine until the said leaders, if they have no better

actuating principle, shall, on their own favourite plea of "expediency," be glad to take us by the hand, and again to identify themselves with our cause (hear, hear.) Perhaps, Sir, we shall be told that by this mode of proceeding we shall embarrass our friends. Are they our friends? If so, I think we may adopt the old adage, "save us from our friends." I believe, Sir, the same rule holds good in parliament as in the world generally—the best way to have plenty of friends is to let them see that we can do without them, or at any rate that the dependance is mutual. Embarrass our friends indeed! Why, Sir, they have embarrassed themselves by their own crooked and devious policy, and in the end they will, I expect, be thankful and grateful to us for assisting them out of their embarrassment. Let them adopt a straightforward manly course—let them discard their false notions of political expediency—let them make principle their guide, and then, Sir, they will be supported by a moral force, a religious zeal, and a numerical strength which will carry them through every difficulty (hear, hear). If they will not adopt this course, they deserve embarrassment, and embarrassment they will have until they are crushed under it, and their hollow compact explode. Then, Sir, they will be taunted and laughed at by their enemies for having conceded so much—pitied or despised by former friends, whom they have neglected or betrayed, and posterity will execrate their memory for having failed to hand down to them, unimpaired, those Protestant institutions for which their forefathers had bled, and which by a too confiding nation were en-



trusted to their keeping (applause). Shall we be again told, Sir, as Sir Robert Peel told us in 1829, that we ought not to mix up religion with politics—that matters of state should be decided, not with reference to religious principles, but on principles and feelings of expediency? Illustrious primitives of the English church! Shades of Cranmer, of Latimer, and of Ridley! Is it in the land which you once redeemed from darkness, and where your venerated ashes yet sleep, that such sentiments as these shall prevail? Then, indeed, were your labours unavailing, and your blood was shed in vain (applause). Sir, I expect to incur the imputation of bigotry and intolerance in thus coming forward as the advocate of the sacred and venerated institutions of the country, and in opposing any farther concession to the Roman Catholics; but the charge will pass by me as “the idle wind which I regard not.” I cannot defer to Lord Plunket’s opinion that history is an “old almanac,” nor can I close my eyes on passing events. I feel and enjoy the blessing of civil and religious liberty, and it is because I think this invaluable inheritance is in danger that I take this prominent part (hear, hear). I have every kind feeling towards my Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and wish to see them freed from the trammels and spiritual tyranny of a system which owes its dangerous tendencies to the influence of an interested and ambitious priesthood, operating on a people destitute of genuine religious instruction; a system which would be intolerable, even to themselves, but for the counter-

acting influence of the Protestant church, which they vainly and madly wish to exterminate (hear, hear, and cheers). Let them look to Spain, and Portugal, and to Sicily at this present time. In the two latter the Inquisition exists in its original force and rigour; and in the former, two parties, nearly equal in strength, are contending for supremacy; and as soon as that point is settled, the infernal engine will doubtless be established in that unhappy country (hear). If the Roman Catholic laity of Ireland knew their own interest, they would pray for the continuance of the Protestant church as the only guarantee for their own freedom of thought and action (hear, hear.) I myself personally know many of the most respectable Roman Catholics who take this view—some of them members of the learned professions, and eminent in those professions, and others men of great commercial importance. I could name them, and their names would give the greatest force to my statements—but I will not name them, because I know I should only be exposing them to that annoyance and persecution, the fear of which prevents them from coming forward openly to avow their opinions. These gentlemen know that, if left to themselves, that is to say, if their own party once get the ascendancy, they would have to give up every pretension to freedom, and be from that moment subject to worse than Egyptian bondage (applause.) Sir, previously to the passing of the emancipation bill of 1829, several Roman Catholics were examined before the house of lords as to its probable

effects ; among others the celebrated Dr. Doyle, and the still more celebrated Daniel O'Connell. They told us in the plainest terms, and apparently in the most serious manner, that if that bill once passed, there would be an end for ever to agitation in this country ; the priests would thenceforward cease from all interference in temporal, but more particularly in political matters, and confine themselves entirely to their spiritual avocations ; the people would settle down into habits of peaceful industry, and the popular orators would become grave and dignified senators, in which character, however, they would respect all existing rights ; and, in order to remove all doubts on the part of Protestants, they would take a solemn oath never to interfere in any way with the rights, immunities, or property of the established church (hear.) Many honest and conscientious men believed them ; many were the splendid and liberal speeches delivered in both houses of parliament in favour of the " healing measure," and beautiful indeed were the pictures, fancy sketches, of the happiness which was to follow (cheers.)

I have in my hand, Sir, an extract from a speech delivered on that occasion by the Marquess of Anglesey, which I will read for your edification :—" I have no hesitation," said the noble Marquess, " in stating, that if you pass this measure, you will for ever extinguish the Catholic Association. I say, from the moment you pass this bill, I shall consider the regeneration of Ireland complete. Ireland wants much ; but what is it she wants most ?—repose. I apprehend this bill will



secure that permanent tranquillity which is the source of all national happiness, and without which national prosperity can never be lasting. A more important consequence than all that I have yet described is, that the wandering absentee will return. He will repair to the seat of his ancestors; he will find comfort where he left discontent, and tranquillity where he left disaffection; and thus he will re-establish that greatest blessing to any country—the fair legitimate connexion between the landlord and his tenant. But I may be permitted to ask, is or is not the Protestant church in Ireland really in danger? If it be, I say that the passing of this bill will do more to strengthen it in the minds of the people, and will better maintain its security than all the penal enactments which the utmost ingenuity of legislation can devise” (ironical cheers). Sir, in justice to the noble marquess, I must allow that this is only a fair sample of all the speeches made by the concession members of both houses; and I would ask was there ever, could there be a more severe satire on the foresight of these statesmen than their own speeches on that occasion? If, Sir, the Dublin corporation had found this picture realised, it would, long before now have relaxed its rigorous laws, and admitted Roman Catholics to a full participation of municipal rights and privileges; but as it is, the members of the corporation boldly and fearlessly congratulate themselves on having firmly supported and maintained their ancient Protestant character (applause). Having read you an extract from a speech on the liberal

side, I will now read one from our venerable and most excellent primate, the Archbishop of Armagh. After some preliminary remarks, he said—"Because, then, my lords, I feel assured that this measure will not tranquilize Ireland; because I feel certain that it is not desired for its own value, but in order to press with greater certainty and effect some ulterior objects, the acquirement of which they will never relinquish; because I am persuaded that an increase of power will only forward the acquirement of such objects, I feel myself bound to oppose it. My lords, all men who know any thing of political parties in this country, and of the manner in which business is conducted, know very well how great will be the influence exercised in all public acts by that large body of Roman Catholics which we have every reason to believe will find admittance into the popular branch of the legislature—they know very well how able so compact a body of political partisans will be to thwart a good, or give strength to a bad administration. No error can be greater than that of those who, professing themselves friends of the Established church, forward this measure under the notion of strengthening her defences, and with the expectation of controuling her adversaries by gratitude. No policy can be more senseless than this, but it is a policy that has already served the purposes of the Roman Catholics, for that policy it is which has already disunited the church's friends. I do not mean to say, my lords, that after passing this bill the subversion of the Estab-

lished church will be immediate, nor do I think it will be far removed. In all probability its enemies will at first be cautious in their approaches, but at length, emboldened by success, feeling the strength of the political situation we are about to give them, they will openly avow and carry what has been their object from the beginning, the subversion of the Protestant church. If it be asked what shall be done with Ireland? I say be tolerant to all religions professed in it—cherish every class of her Majesty's subjects—withhold nothing in the spirit of monopoly that can be safely granted, but for the sake of all—for the sake even of the Roman Catholics themselves, let the constitution be Protestant in all its essential measures—let it be Protestant in its head, Protestant in its responsible advisers, Protestant in its legislation, Protestant in its institutions for education, and, above all, Protestant in its religious establishments” (great cheering.) This speech, Sir, seems to have been conceived in the spirit of prophecy, and we are told it was delivered with a solemnity and an earnestness perfectly characteristic of the illustrious individual from whom it proceeded.—We are among those who regard it as a faithful warning, to which it would be criminal to turn a deaf ear. We are, therefore, determined to stand to our posts “through good report and through evil report.” We consider the Protestant church as the citadel, and the Protestant corporations as nearly the only remaining outworks, and these we will defend to the last (cheers.) We do not feel that we are contending for corporate



rights merely, much less for individual interests ; but we feel that we are contending for principles of paramount importance to the welfare, the happiness, and the prosperity of the country (applause.) It may be, Sir, that we are standing in the straits of a modern Thermopylæ, to defend the passes of civil and religious liberty, affecting the dearest interests, not only of the present, but of future generations (cheers.)-- We call on our Protestant brethren in all parts of the empire to unite with us, that we may, by a seasonable exertion of prudence and spirit, resist all the clamours of our enemies, and baffle the intriguing and temporising policy of those who have long professed themselves, and who are even now wishing to be considered, our friends (hear, hear.) I am convinced that if we set to work in earnest, we shall engage the sympathy, and receive the support of England. Her pride, her prejudices, her interest, and her religion, are all in our favour, and believe me, we might as soon suppose the sun would alter his course as that England should long desert the Protestant and conservative interests of this country (hear, hear, and cheers.) Sir, I think I have shown that we have just, legitimate, and most pressing claims on the assistance and co-operation of our Protestant and conservative friends throughout the empire, and to parliament I trust we shall make an appeal that will not be in vain. I expect to see our excellent and patriotic Lord Mayor exercising his undoubted right of being heard by petition at the bar of both houses. I expect to hear Sir Charles Wetherall,

or some other eminent counsel, plead our cause before the assembled legislative wisdom of the nation, and I shall be greatly disappointed if the reports of the proceedings do not deeply interest all the thinking and reflecting part of the community. We have charters granted by many Kings—the first, by Henry II. ; some of them were cancelled by James II., and restored afterwards by William III. of “glorious, pious, and immortal memory ;” and we have acts of parliament, solemnly and deliberately enacted, recognising and confirming these charters, which, together, form a special right, as sacred and as inviolable, I presume, as a patent of nobility or as the title deed of an estate—(cheers.) On the whole, Sir, I am confident we shall make out a case that will rouse the British public, and which will, in any event, justify the Lords in refusing to be a party to the overthrow or destruction of this ancient, loyal, and Protestant corporation (loud and continued cheering.)

Mr. ex-Sheriff QUINTON here rose and said—Having recently had the pleasure of seconding a resolution for inquiry into the subject before us, I now rise, with equal pleasure, to second the resolution, that the result of that inquiry be taken into the consideration of this house (hear). I think, Sir, I address those who, though themselves corporators, can divest their minds of any selfish feelings in considering the important question of the maintenance of Protestant corporations. I am induced so to express myself, as it is well known

that on this subject there is a wretched sophistry abroad at the present day, which deludes us to consent, without alarm, to acts which, if threatened on private individuals, would rouse them at once to resistance (hear). It is the pretended anxiety to guard vested rights; to save individuals from harm, while we are destroying those bodies of which they are component parts (hear, hear). We must view this question not as one of personal interests, but as involving principles essentially requisite to the maintenance of the Protestant religion in Ireland, and the protection of those who dare to profess themselves members of its church (cheers). It is by reason of the great and apparent dangers with which these are threatened that we are assembled here this day (hear); it is to record and to send forward our solemn protest against the contemplated innovation upon, if not destruction of, those bulwarks raised by the wisdom of our ancestors around the Protestant throne of these realms [applause]; it is to tell the people of Protestant England, that the Irish corporations cannot be handed over from the friends of British connection and British monarchy, to the enemies of both (hear), without the utmost apprehension of the no distant repeal of the one and the ultimate subversion of the other. I am aware, Sir, that there is little good, and much mischief, in exaggerated fears; but when men find that some evils apprehended do not occur, they soon believe that none exist at all; and we have recently passed through so many changes, without as yet experiencing all the



anticipated consequences, that it becomes extremely difficult to bring home to the mind the full extent of any mischief the working of which is future and prospective [hear, hear]. It must, however, be admitted, that, to any thinking mind, nothing connected with our constitutional system has for years presented such reasonable ground for anxiety and alarm as the announcement of an intention, on the part of the Conservative leaders in parliament, to sacrifice on the altar of expediency the Protestant corporations of this country [hear, hear]. And here let me, in passing, express the high sense I feel bound to entertain of the private character and worth of one individual in particular, whose connexion with this corporation, and with recent circumstances, renders it impossible he could be excluded from any observations I may feel it my duty to make upon the line of public conduct marked out for adoption by the Conservative party (hear, hear). But, in proportion as our admiration is great for the excellence of his private character and acknowledged talents, great also must be our regret that he has thought fit to subscribe his name to a line of public policy, upon the question of Irish corporations, as unlike his former professions, as, I am convinced, it is at variance with the wishes and feelings of the Protestant constituency, of which he is the parliamentary representative (hear, hear). But expediency in these, our days, is wonder-working (hear, hear). Its extraordinary powers in reference to corporate reform, so called, has made that measure,

once the most odious to the Conservative party, now the most highly favoured, reckoning on its list of advocates men of the very extremes of politics. Not content with the consistent advocacy of those, who, born and cherished in an adverse faith, are naturally jealous of the rights and privileges of Protestants (hear), we are now told that Tamworth is to be joined with Stroud, and the seat of learning in Dublin, the Protestant University, is to vie with Tipperary in sending representatives to parliament, to deal out with sufficient force this "heavy blow and great discouragement" to the Protestant establishments of our country (hear and cheers). When such announcements as these are made—and something like them have been made—we pause and ask each other can these things be? (hear). Can the friends for whom in their progress to greatness we have felt anxiously, and toiled much, and from whom at the time we received for our pains a world of professions (hear), have grown tired of the task of guarding the portal of the constitution, and now remain upon its threshold no longer to defend but to hand it over (hear)—and when we remonstrate against the destructive measure, wishing to have the cause of Protestantism clearly and sufficiently brought before parliament, (which we deny has ever yet been done upon this question,) we are told, forsooth, that the Conservative party is pledged to corporate reform upon the principles of the bill rejected last year, which bill, be its professions what they may, means nothing less than a wholesale transfer of our ancient charters

from Protestants to Roman Catholics (hear, hear). Pledged ! What an absurdity ! By whom—to whom ? Sir, I say the charter of that great national assembly, the Imperial Parliament, is compromised by such an expression (hear). Its deliberative character must first be destroyed ere its members can stand pledged from one session to another to a narrowed line of policy on any question (hear, hear); they are bound to deliberate on, and take into account, the present existing state of society in any portion of the country for which they are about to legislate (hear). I cannot but think the expression has been unguardedly used, or if used advisedly, it must have been put forward as what is commonly termed a feeler. In either case I do not object to its use. It has been of use to us. Either it has revealed the true position of our affairs, and shown us what we might expect from a reliance upon friends, or it has been the alarm bell to awaken the Protestants of Ireland to a sense of their duty (hear, hear). We are also told by our talented Recorder “that it is now too late—that the time has passed when remonstrance might have been availing.” Does not the question naturally follow—why were we not apprised of our danger ? (hear). Had we, the Protestant corporation of Dublin, no friend in the assembled representation of the country to warn us of our danger ? Does the Protestant University of Dublin, “the College of Elizabeth,” no longer hold with us a unity of interest (hear)—not to say sympathy in extremities of approaching danger (hear), that univer-



sity for whose foundation the ancient and loyal corporation of Dublin held such anxious solicitude that freely they gave the very ground on which it stands, to raise the proud edifice against the darkness and superstition which preceded it (hear, and cheers).—

Surely, Sir, if there existed no other reason, this circumstance alone ought for ever to have been considered a bond of friendship, and should have stimulated the representative of the one to have been no less the champion when the interests of the other were assailed (hear, hear); or, if this could not excite exertion in our behalf, self-preservation ought to have prevented acquiescence in the suicidal measure (hear); for as surely as darkness succeeds light, in the natural progression of our days, would the destruction of the charter of our Protestant University follow that of the Protestant Corporation of Dublin, unless the conciliating and time-serving letter of the learned and liberal head of the University, recently put forward, can secure the enjoyment of his high estate as a reward for his attempt at removing the “root of bitterness” from out the land (hear and laughter). But I beg of that learned and “liberal” divine to believe that if his object be to conciliate Popery, he must first remove from out this land the Protestant religion “*root* and branch” (hear), to blend the shades of “Donnellan” and “Dens” would be but half his labour; a congenial study, no doubt, for a member of the board of national education, but rather infelicitous employment for the head of a Protestant University (hear and laughter.) Can it be pos-

sible that the Conservative party have agreed to change their name for another, not a better? If they have resolved in haste, let them take heed they do not repent at leisure (hear, hear.) "Men's good deeds are written in water—their evil deeds are graven on brass." A warning to public men, how they barter even the brief existence of a good name for the doubtful emulation of an inglorious immortality (cheers.) Sir, I would ask the Conservative party, in plain earnestness, is Ireland in a state which would render it safe to grant additional power to Roman Catholics? Can they be aware of the state of society in this country, and contemplate such a measure? If they be ignorant of the state of Ireland, they should not so legislate; if they were truly acquainted with its condition, they could not (hear.) It is to a deplorable want of correct information, on the part of English Conservatives, as to the state of Ireland, that Protestants must attribute the hard usage to which they, and all they hold dear, have been, and are daily subjected—(hear.) They judge of Ireland by their knowledge of England: never was there more erroneous data on which to found an opinion. No two countries can be more dissimilar in their religious and political conditions; nor are the English members likely to be better informed on the subject, unless some other means are resorted to than the occasional intercourse of members would supply; for the small number of Conservatives which, under the reform bill, Ireland is enabled to return, find themselves so outvoted, at the private

meetings called by their leaders, that if they are to belong to any party at all they must be content to adopt the expressions of others, though utterly at variance with their own convictions and opinions—(hear.) It remains for them to reconcile, if it be possible, such conduct with a conscientious discharge of their duty (hear, hear.) The English Conservatives are not aware—they cannot be aware—of the dangers which must inevitably follow the concessions contemplated by the iniquitous bill rejected last year. If ever there was delusion sought to be practised, it was in that bill (hear.) By way of making it sound smoothly to the ears of Protestants, it pompously sets forth, that the inchoate rights of Protestant freemen should be preserved, though the right was only to extend to the elective franchise, excluding them altogether from any right to admission to the town councils; but to determine even this right to the elective franchise, it gave to the intended Popish lord mayor the sole, unrestricted, arbitrary power of deciding upon the claim of each Protestant so seeking his freedom (hear.) I should like to know how many of the sons of the present Protestant freemen would be registered before such an unconstitutional and arbitrary tribunal (hear, hear.) The whole aim and tendency of that bill were to increase the political power of the avowed enemies of the constitution, and to exterminate any political existence possessed by its friends (hear.) If this be expediency, I should be glad to hear the meaning of inexpediency (hear.) Instead of the Popish agitator



being kept in some degree of surveillance by the existing laws, and obliged to resort, as they are at present, to the subterfuge of false and unmeaning names, for their brawling associations, they would in every town in Ireland, under the protection of a charter, fulminate the most deadly anathemas against every thing English, and every thing Protestant (hear, hear.)—The state of lawless agitation to which this country has now arrived, naturally leads us to inquire at what period of the history of Ireland was there peace and quiet in the land (hear, hear.) It will be found that the utmost peace prevailed when the penal code was in full operation. And as surely as effects follow causes would this country be quieted again by resorting to the same means. It appears but too plainly that the prophecy of the Duke of Wellington will yet be fulfilled ere the day of peace dawn upon this land—that “Ireland must be conquered again” (hear, hear.) As I believe many members are anxious to deliver their sentiments upon this subject, I feel I would not study their convenience, nor the interest of the question, if I trespassed further on the attention of the house. I shall therefore conclude, Sir, by calling on the Protestant communities, of whatever class, throughout Ireland, to assemble and petition parliament upon this momentous question, so essential to the preservation of their religion, and they must be heard. (Mr. Quinton resumed his seat amid long continued cheers).

*On Friday, February 1st, Mr. Jones introduced the Address to the Conservative Members of Parliament in the following speech:—*

He said—I rise, Mr. Sheriff, to propose an address to the Conservative members of both houses of Parliament, and I am confident it will have your unanimous approbation. It is unnecessary for me to descant on its merits, as it will speak for itself; but I shall avail myself of this opportunity of adverting to some charges which have been very industriously circulated here, not only verbally, but through the press, and which, I am sorry to say, have reached London also. The charges to which I allude are prejudicial, not only to us, but to the cause in which we are engaged—a cause which, in my opinion, is identical with the existence of Protestantism in this country, and with British connexion (hear). It is said, Sir, that our object is to sow dissension in the Conservative camp. We deny it. We utterly repudiate the idea. We feel, and we are convinced that Protestants generally feel that our Conservative leaders have conceded too much—nay more, we are satisfied that they feel this themselves, and that they will hail with delight such a demonstration of public opinion as will justify them in making a decided and determined stand against all further concession (hear, hear).—The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel are men of great sagacity, and it is quite impossible to

suppose they do not see and reason on the natural tendency of passing events. They cannot but see that the O'Connell party is bent on the subversion of our Protestant institutions and the severance of British connexion, and that nothing short of this will satisfy them; indeed this would not satisfy them (hear, and cheers). These objects would be no sooner obtained but they would co-operate with the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Spencer, and all other sincere and zealous Roman Catholics, in endeavouring to re-convert England and Scotland to their faith, that we might all come within the pale and enjoy the protection of the Holy See (cheers). I say, Sir, that no rational and reflecting man can have a doubt that this is looked to as an ultimatum by that party; and if they do not succeed it will not be their fault; but if they do, it will be ours, and dearly we shall pay for it (cheers). It is our object to counteract their designs and to induce our Conservative leaders to raise a standard, round which all Protestants of every denomination may conscientiously rally—that there may be a firm, strong, and lasting union between us, not resting on the hollow principle of expediency, but on the basis of immutable truth (loud cheers). This is our object, and with nothing short of this will we be satisfied (cheers). It has been said that as the emancipation bill and the reform bill have passed, all future legislation must go on in accordance with the spirit of those bills (cheers). This we deny: we say, the former was a direct infringement on the British constitution, and the latter was one of *the evils* resulting from it; it is therefore our duty



to counteract the tendency of these pernicious measures. The Catholic relief bill was passed avowedly as an experiment, and is now found to be a most woful failure in legislation [hear, hear]; and I venture to predict that, if our senators proceed further in the career of concession, a sanguinary conflict must, and will, sooner or later, ensue (cheers). I have heard it remarked that, as agitation produced emancipation, so a continuance of it will produce all the other national blessings of which that famous measure was only an instalment or "precursor." If we admit that that measure was the fruit of agitation, we deny that it was produced by that utterly contemptible assemblage which used to meet at the Corn-Exchange under the appellation of the Catholic Association (loud cheers). No, Sir, it was the fruit of an agitation in England, created by the towering and powerful eloquence of Pitt, of Fox, of Sheridan, of Burke, and of Canning, operating on a people proverbially honest, and consequently unsuspecting (hear, hear). Appeals were made to their justice—their candour—their sympathy—and their patriotism; these appeals were perpetually reiterated in the most glowing terms, until they produced that "pressure from without," to which the hero of a hundred fights was at last induced to yield (cheers). To suppose that he was influenced by fear is to libel the character of that great man. What, Sir! the Duke of Wellington frightened by O'Connell! The idea is too preposterous to dwell on for a single moment. No, Sir, Catholic emancipation was yielded to

the demands of the British people, who were excited by the combined talents of men such as the world has rarely seen, and who were themselves the dupes of their own generous enthusiasm (hear, hear). If there were any other causes operating in the mind of the Duke, they were foreign to the Corn-Exchange. It is whispered behind the scenes that, at that particular juncture, the French court were indulging the contemplation of extending the boundaries of France to the Rhine, and were calculating that the attention of England was too much engrossed by internal dissensions to attend to attempted foreign encroachments (hear and cheers). At this time France was adopting every means of fomenting these dissensions. It is said that when the great captain was made acquainted with this, he determined at all hazards to baffle the schemes of our continental neighbours, and that he immediately resolved on granting Catholic emancipation (hear, hear). Be this as it may, all that we can at present with certainty aver is, that the English people were favourable to the measure—that it became law in 1829, and that political agitation has increased with every succeeding year (hear, hear, and cheers). Up to the last session of parliament our senators seem to have been unanimous in the opinion, that it was necessary to proceed in the spirit of concession, hoping, no doubt, that they were near a point at which demands would cease (hear, hear). That they now perceive their mistake is evident from the simultaneous expression of feeling which pervades every Conservative journal

in the kingdom. Look at the *Times*, the *Morning Post*, the *Morning Herald*, the *John Bull*, the *Age*; look at all the provincial papers, and at the monthly periodicals—they all breathe one spirit of energetic and determined resistance to the further demands of a party, which they now find to be rampant and insatiable (cheers); and I have no doubt that the Duke will embrace the favourable opportunity of uniting every Protestant in the empire in one common cause—a cause in which are identified his own fame, the welfare of the Protestant Church, the permanence of British connection, and the peace and security of the United Kingdom (cheers). Sir, as an individual, I have no personal interest whatever in the question of corporate reform, nor am I in the slightest degree influenced by either friendship for, or aversion to, any person or persons, in the line of conduct which I have adopted. I go on public grounds alone, in defence and support of principles which I conceive of paramount importance to the best interests of the country (hear, hear). On public grounds, then, I contend for the maintenance of our Protestant corporations; and I do solemnly say, it is my conscientious opinion that this is the ground on which the battle of the constitution should be fought. If we concede these, we only increase our difficulties; we only put off the evil day, and, perhaps, the struggle may force itself on us when we are not so well prepared to meet it (hear, hear). Notwithstanding the difficulties which we may have to encounter in the course we have marked out, we shall find a great



many circumstances operating in our favour. Look at the speech of Sir James Graham at Glasgow, Sir Francis Burdett at Birmingham, and Sir Wm. Follett at Exeter: although they do not specifically mention Irish corporations, they openly avow sentiments in unison with ours. Then let us look to Canada—to the Precursors in this country, and then, in addition to the many other savage murders, that of the amiable Lord Norbury (applause). Can we suppose that all these things will not affect the minds of our brethren in England and Scotland, and induce them to support our cause? Sir, we have adopted the cry of “No Surrender,” and we will stick to it (cheers). We have adopted it conscientiously, after mature reflection, and our opponents shall find that a union of the warm enthusiasm of the Irish and the cool determined resolution of the English and the Scotch shall make that cry effective. We will excite the sympathy of our Protestant brethren throughout the empire, and in a little time we will have a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether, and then the victory will be ours. (Mr. Jones sat down amidst loud cheers).

#### A D D R E S S

FROM THE ANCIENT, LOYAL, AND PROTESTANT CORPORATION OF DUBLIN, IN COMMON COUNCIL ASSEMBLED, TO THE CONSERVATIVE MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

“The Corporation of the City of Dublin having prepared a brief statement, relative to the proposed enactment of Municipal Reform, beg leave respectfully to lay it before each and all of the

Conservative Members of the Imperial Parliament for their consideration. They feel that no apology is necessary for such a proceeding, at a time when it is proposed to destroy their vested rights, which have been long held as sacred as the private property of any individual.

“The Corporation of Dublin feel themselves fully justified in thus calling on those Members of Parliament, who represent the Protestant interests of this great empire, to resist the measure of last session, should it again be brought forward in Parliament.

“That measure embraced two distinct and separate acts—it was an act of disfranchisement and of enfranchisement. It swept away absolutely, and without reservation, the franchises which immemorial prescription and innumerable charters had secured.

“Against the first the Corporation feel it right to enter their strongest and most unqualified protest. Whatever opinion may be formed on the question, how far it is just for the Legislature to superadd new franchises, there can be no doubt that it is an act of violence and spoliation, by a mere exercise of power, to confiscate those conferred by ancient charters.

“The very lowest vested right which can possibly be supposed to belong to any Freeman of the City is this—that so long as the Corporation of Dublin exists, he has the solemn pledge of the national faith that he and his descendants shall continue to be free of that body ; that, no matter who should acquire privileges similar to his own, he could not be deprived of his ; and that no

change of the customs, or alteration in the rules of the City, should take from him his inheritance of freedom.

“ If this right, at least, be not acknowledged in each individual Freeman, charters are but a mockery. But this right, in the late Bill, was utterly disregarded. The Legislature was called on not merely to admit a new class to the privileges and honours of the charters of the city ; but, in the very first instance, to destroy the rights these charters guaranteed.

“ The Bill, thus complete in its disfranchising enactments—sweeping away every vestige of our ancient customs and franchises—not leaving even a trace of those complicated rights and interests, which were interwoven in so many forms with the existence of the Corporation—was not merely a proposal to share the privileges with persons who had hitherto been excluded from them, but an absolute and unconditional transfer of rights, of which the present possessors were to be deprived, to a new class of persons called into Corporate existence by the Bill.

“ The question then remains as to the character of the class to whom the transfer was thus proposed. To this point the Corporation earnestly and respectfully desire to call the attention of the Conservative Members in Parliament. The impression seems to be entertained that by adopting the test of franchise proposed in the Bill of last Session, which fixed the rate of value conferring the corporate franchise at about nine pounds a year, the Protestant interest of the city would at least be fairly represented. The deliberate and carefully formed opinion of the Corporation is, that any such expectation is mere delusion.

“ *They feel* it their duty to warn the Conservatives in Parlia-



ment, that in considering the propriety of acceding to the Bill of last Session, they must calculate on the new Corporations as entirely in the hands of the faction that is opposed to them. The Protestant Citizens of Dublin ought best to know their own strength, and their conviction is, that possessing as they do the wealth, the intelligence, and the respectability of the City, though not the numbers, they will be completely overpowered in the proposed Corporation.

“ This matter admits of an easy test. A body, called the Trades’ Union of this City, nominated and returned, at the last Election, two Members to Parliament, in defiance of the wealth and respectability of the City. The persons entitled to the Parliamentary franchise may be divided into three classes—the Householders, the Freemen, and those who vote in right of property.—Of these three classes the first, alone, will be entitled to the Corporate Franchise under the New Bill ; in each of the other classes the Protestant Candidates had a large majority, which at Corporate Elections will be struck off. It is true that the adoption of a *bona fide* household test will disfranchise many of the opposite class of householders, but not in sufficient number to counterbalance the loss of the Freemen and the Property Franchise.

“ Besides, those who have experience in contests in this city, are well aware that the strength which the Protestants are able to bring to Parliamentary Elections is by no means a fair test of the strength which they could bring to constantly recurring Corporate Elections. The more respectable the condition of the elector, the greater will be his aversion to mix in the turmoil of a contest ; and the more frequent the recurrence of the Elections,

the more effectually will this principle operate to the disadvantage of the Protestants in the contest.

“The Corporation therefore give it as their deliberate opinion, that the same party which, at the last Election, nominated the members for Dublin, would, under the proposed Bill, have the command of the Corporation.

“The consequences of this to Protestantism, and the welfare of Ireland, need not be pointed out. The Corporation, on this point, adopt as their own the energetic language of one of the Guilds of the City, who thus expressed their sense of this deep injury to the well-being of their country :—

“We see nothing but danger to the best interests of Ireland in the proposed measure of last Session, convinced that it would have had the effect of giving the powers of the Corporations to those who seek the destruction of Protestantism and British power in Ireland. We are also persuaded that the establishment of the bodies contemplated by its enactment would have given a heavy blow and great discouragement alike to the moral and physical improvement of our people ; establishing Normal Schools of agitation, it would have banished peace from our towns, converting every city into an arena of civil strife. We dare not hope that it would not have produced, in this distracted country, the effect which the Duke of Wellington has stated, in his place in Parliament, a similar measure has produced even in the tranquil society of England ; it would have made our cities places in which no lover of peace could dwell, and the incessant sound of civil discord would have frightened capital and industry from our shores. Every day's experience bears lamentable testimony to

the blighting and withering effect of political agitation on the peace and prosperity of our country ; the worst and most ruinous consequences would inevitably follow from a measure which would legalize and incorporate under the specious title of Municipal Bodies, societies whose chief, if not their only, business would be, to excite the passions of the people against all that remains of our Protestant institutions.

“ We feel that the question now at issue involves the peace of Ireland, and the interests of Irish Protestantism, even more nearly and practically than the Bill of 1829. We feel that should the additional power of Popish Corporations be thrown into the hands of our enemies, influences will be raised up which it will be difficult, if not impossible, for Protestants to resist. The total destruction of the Church, of the University, of all our remaining Protestant Institutions, will be demanded with fearful effect. The Repeal of the Union will be asked, and perhaps conceded, and the complete ascendancy of Popery in this country be established. They are no true friends of Irish Protestantism who disguise the dangers of the measure of the last Session. It would have given over the Corporation of this City, among many others, to the faction that seeks the ascendancy of a dominant and intolerant Church ; the effects of such a surrender would prove just as ruinous to Protestantism as the existence of Protestant Corporations is now useful ; treason would have on its side the influence of civil authority and privilege ; new courage would be given to the demands of the enemies of England ; and the Protestant people of this country, dispirited at seeing the fortresses which had been the defence of liberty and loyalty converted into the strongholds of their enemies, would either give up the contest for English supremacy in Ireland, and make for themselves



what terms they could, by joining the cry for Repeal, or seek in a foreign land an asylum beyond the reach of British ingratitude and priestly tyranny. To such a state of things the return of a Conservative Ministry to power would be no remedy ; even they would be forced either to re-conquer the country or to continue the policy of concession. We have too often already been deceived by the advice of giving up a portion of our privileges to preserve the rest. Experience has sternly impressed on us the lesson which we ought scarcely to have needed experience to teach, that the politicians who make the concession to avoid grappling with Popery, are still less likely to resist it when its power is increased by the consequences of their own act. The open and undisguised breach of the compact of 1829—the preparation made for organising the people in a war against all that remains of the Protestant Church—the intelligible hints that are every day given that the time for Popish dominion has arrived—the threat that the release of the Sovereign of the country from the present ministry shall be the signal for a sanguinary insurrection, are warnings which clearly indicate the madness of placing the power of Corporations in the hands of our enemies.’

“That these disastrous consequences will be realized, if any measure similar to that proposed last Session be enacted, seems clear. The Corporation then feel it to be their duty to lay their sentiments before the Conservative Members of the Imperial Legislature, protesting against the confiscation of their ancient rights, and pointing out the ruin involved in the transfer of these rights. Respectfully, but solemnly and earnestly do they call on the Representatives of the Protestant people of these Realms, in the name of that people, to resist the measure called by a strange misnomer—Municipal Reform.

“ARCHER AND LONG,  
*“City Assembly House,  
 “Dublin, Feb. 6, 1839.”*

“Town Clerks.

Sheriff QUINTON rose and said—Mr. Sheriff, the highly important subject which has re-  
sided so much of our time and attention, I  
present a resolution, having for its purpose one  
of accomplishing the desirable object—  
the assistance of our Protestant corporations,  
the medium of an address from this, the an-  
nual corporation of Dublin, to the Protest-  
ant denominations in Great Britain and Ireland  
to awaken that lively interest in our  
cause which has been lulled into the repose of fancied  
security by a variety of concurrent circumstances,  
which, I am sorry to say, though I am free  
from unaccountable apathy on our own parts  
is eminently forward [hear]. Sir, I feel con-  
fident of the resolution, as well as the address  
shall have the honour of submitting to you,  
with the unanimous concurrence of this  
assembly, a heartfelt and ready response from the  
Protestant community of the United Kingdom  
(hear). Indeed it must be responded to by  
those who value the blessings, or can estimate  
the value of civil and religious liberty, which  
is so amply secured under Protestant ascen-  
dancy, blessings which must inevitably cease  
if the guardian light of Protestantism be once extin-  
guished (hear), and this country be again sunk in  
darkness and benighted in the darkness of Popery  
(hear). The more this subject is thought of  
and discussed, the more will those who examine and

what terms they could, by joining the cry for Repeal, or seek in a foreign land an asylum beyond the reach of British ingratitude and priestly tyranny. To such a state of things the return of a Conservative Ministry to power would be no remedy: even they would be forced either to re-conquer the country or to continue the policy of concession. We have too often already been deceived by the advice of giving up a portion of our privileges to preserve the rest. Experience has sternly impressed on us the lesson which we ought scarcely to have needed experience to teach, that the politicians who make the concession to avoid grappling with Popery, are still less likely to resist it when its power is increased by the consequences of their own act. The open and undisguised breach of the compact of 1829—the preparation made for organising the people in a war against all that remains of the Protestant Church—the intelligible hints that are every day given that the time for Popish dominion has arrived—the threat that the release of the Sovereign of the country from the present ministry shall be the signal for a sanguinary insurrection, are warnings which clearly indicate the madness of placing the power of Corporations in the hands of our enemies.

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“ ARCHER AND LONG,

“ City Assembly House.

“ Town Clerks.

“ Dublin, Feb. 6, 1839.”



[illegible]

think be impressed with the imperative necessity which exists of maintaining the essentially Protestant principles which have characterised Irish municipal corporations for nearly three hundred years (hear, hear, and loud cheers). There is at the present period, a most unprecedented struggle to re-establish Popery in this land. Let no man deceive himself, nor be deceived by others who use the specious arguments and insidious doctrines by which it is hoped to obtain this step on the ladder of Popish ambition (cheers).—Popery is unchanged and unchangeable—the same yesterday and to-day—but not for ever (cheers).—Babylon must fall, but her last stand will be made in Ireland. The means of success which she employs may be every day witnessed in the exterminating warfare against Christianity—that great and wide spreading tree of which Popery is but a rotten branch (hear and cheers). But to return to the address, which is the immediate question before the house. As it includes matter of detail so well known to this house as to appear unnecessary to be put forward, I would beg you to bear in mind that it is intended for free circulation in England, where the constitution of our corporations is but little known (hear, hear, and cheers). I would also beg to say, that while it embodies the great principles of our religion, for which it contends, it carefully avoids even an allusion of a personal or offensive nature to any (hear, hear). It carries by a persuasive and argumentative course of reasoning, the great necessity, in a re-

ligious point of view of maintaining Protestantism as the governing principle of Irish corporations (hear, hear). I would conclude, Sir, by saying that the address, which I shall have the honor of submitting, emanating, as it does, from the pen of one of the most powerful advocates of our Protestant cause, as well as the most fearless and uncompromising champion in our Christian church, requires neither recommendation on the one hand, nor apology on the other. He has come forward in the bold path of duty, as laid down in the everlasting Word of God, which proclaims that, "if the watchman see the sword come, and blow not the trumpet, and the people be not warned - if the sword come, and take any from among them, then he is taken away, but his blood will I require at the watchman's hand." Sir, without further trespass on your time, I shall with permission read the address, which I propose for adoption by this assembly. The hon. member then read the address, which was received throughout with many demonstrations of applause, and concluded amid loud and long-continued cheers.

The address was unanimously agreed to.



## ADDRESS

OF THE ANCIENT, LOYAL, AND PROTESTANT CORPORATION OF  
DUBLIN, IN COMMON COUNCIL ASSEMBLED, TO THE PRO-  
TESTANTS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

BRETHREN,

“ We are too well acquainted with the bond of sympathy that unites us together as professors of a common faith, and partakers of the same hope, to suppose that it is necessary to offer any apology when under assaults made upon our dear-bought rights and privileges, and in the midst of dangers, produced not more by the rapacious violence of our enemies, than by the fears, misgivings, and despondency of those who, we have no doubt, would be willing, if they thought it possible, to befriend us—we are sure that we need not apologise when under such circumstances we make our appeal to you, our brethren, with the view of exciting you to stand up on our behalf, and to interpose the weight of your opinions in the way of remonstrance, petition, and active interference otherwise, when practicable, in order to avert from us, from our posterity, and from society at large, those dangers with which we all are at this time threatened.

“The Municipal Corporations of Ireland are British in their origin, and exclusively Protestant in their constitution, and we consider that their exclusively Protestant character is essential to the maintenance of British connection—to the general welfare—and more especially, to the welfare of Ireland. We therefore consider that it is our duty to exert ourselves in order to maintain their integrity, which we are convinced it is still practicable to do.

We admit that in this sentiment some of the Conservative Members of Parliament differ from us. We are animated, however, by the humble hope, that this our address may, through the influence of public opinion, tend to the production of a change in the mind and in the policy of these Statesmen, or if not, to the substitution of others in their room.

“Indeed, brethren, we are very much convinced, that the matter (under God) depends even more upon you than it does upon our legislators. For if we be so happy as to lead the Protestant constituencies of the empire to agree with us, the natural result must be, that in due time the legislature itself will do so.

“Those who are very much misinformed on the matter, have deemed it fitting to charge us, who are acting from a conscientious feeling of the duty, which is incumbent on us as Protestants—to charge us with a disposition to divide the Conservative party by our opposition to the measure of Corporation Reform, which has been proposed. We repudiate the charge with just indignation—far from our minds be so base a desire. So far is it otherwise, that we feel assured, that the general promulgation of our sentiments on the subject in question, opposed though they may at present be by our parliamentary friends, will have a greater tendency than any thing which we, perhaps, are acquainted with, to give unity of sentiment to all the Protestants of the empire, both high and low.

“We cannot avoid, at this stage of our address, fixing your attention upon the wretched condition of our country. Ireland stands proverbial among all the nations of the earth for unexam-

pled wretchedness. We are, alas ! kept in the possession of an unhappy pre-eminence in misery—exceptions there are, do doubt. Ireland has, as well as other countries, its hereditary possessors and its successful men of business. It is of its general condition we speak, and of the ordinary state of its lower orders—those classes, irrespective of whose social well being and comfort, there cannot be any thing which deserves the name of national prosperity—being understood in this sense, therefore, we do not hesitate to say, that Ireland is pre-eminent in misery—a bye-word among the nations. Its trade and commerce languish—its population is pauperised. Whence is this ?

“ Brethren, we will boldly declare unto you the truth—the cause is **POPERY**. That system which the unerring word of God denounces in terms the most awful and instructive—which our holy church, and which British law, framed on the Bible, stigmatises as “superstitious and idolatrous” (*Queen’s Coronation Oath*)—that system paralyses the energies of the people, and produces those disastrous results which we have here alluded to. The state of every Roman Catholic country in the world presents a fearful illustration of the truth of these sentiments. Now, what is the remedy for this gigantic evil ? We answer this question as boldly as the former. The only effectual remedy is to be found in the religious reformation of the country, in the extensive diffusion of the holy faith which we profess—that faith which has ever brought in its train constitutional liberty, social dignity, and national prosperity. Brethren, the remedy for Irish evils is to be found, we repeat, in the eversion of Papistry, darkness, falsehood, and superstition—in the universal diffusion of Protestant light and truth, and the firm establishment of the Protestant Church. \*



“Are these most desirable results attainable?—they are.—Why, then, have they not been effected long before?—because essayed in a Poposh way, through the instrumentality of penal enactments. Let us have a government that will adopt a course of national policy, conceived in the spirit of those private associations, whose object is the very one now under consideration, the Protestantising of Ireland on scriptural principles—and Popery will soon only be known within our borders in the recollection of the evils it has perpetrated.

“Sure we are, that these are the sentiments of all Christian Protestants. That Protestant Christian is not deserving of the name, who aims at less than the overthrow of Popery. It is very mainly because the proposed Corporation Reform is inconsistent with this view, and, indeed, opposed to it, that we feel ourselves called upon to offer to it the most decided and strenuous resistance which it is in our power to do.

“We would at present confine our address to four heads of consideration—

“ I. THE NATURE OF CORPORATIONS,

“ II. THE PROPOSED REFORM,

“ III. THE REFORM THAT WOULD BE DESIRABLE, AND

“ IV. THE MEANS DEMANDED TO OBTAIN IT.

“ I. THEN, FOR THE NATURE OF OUR MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS.

“The word *corporation* means a *body of men*—the word *municipal* means *privilege-bearing*; therefore Municipal Corpora-

tions mean privileged bodies—bodies of persons privileged by ancient charters or grants, conferred by the laws for the promotion of the general good.

“ We would desire to speak particularly of the Corporation of Dublin, the constitution of which will give a tolerably adequate idea of the subject in general.

“ The Corporation of Dublin, then, consists of twenty-five minor corporations or guilds—the guild of *Merchants, Tailors, Smiths, &c. &c.* Individuals become members of these guilds by birth, to wit, as being the children of former members—by servitude, that is, by having served apprenticeship to those who were members—or by marriage, that is, by being married to the daughters of members. The members of the guilds are called Freemen of Dublin ; as such they are entitled to vote for the Members of Parliament for the city, and none are allowed to be freemen but Protestants. There is also a power of creating members by grace especial ; by a late law, however, although such members are competent to the holding of civic offices, they are not entitled to exercise, as freemen, the elective franchise.

“ Each guild elects triennially two or more of its members as its representatives in the City Council. These representatives of the guilds, together with all the gentlemen who have served the office of High Sheriff of the city, who are called Sheriff’s Peers, as also the High Sheriffs for the year, compose the Commons’ House of the city. The High Sheriffs are its Presidents.

“ The Aldermen are twenty-four in number, exclusive of the Lord Mayor. They are elected for life. When an Aldermanic

gown drops by death, the vacant place is supplied from the Sheriffs' Peers, by the concurrent votes of the Board of Aldermen and the Commons' House.

"The Aldermen in succession occupy, annually, each, the office of Lord Mayor. The Lord Mayor is the President of the Board of Aldermen.

"The Recorder, or City Judge, is elected for life by the concurrent votes of the Board of Aldermen and the Commons' House, and is the legal adviser of the Corporation.

"Such, in general, is the constitution of the Corporation of Dublin. It were needless to give a lengthened detail of the subordinate officers which it comprises—of the offices and institutions which are under its care. It will be sufficient to say that it is essentially Protestant, and that it has at all times boldly, powerfully, and successfully, maintained the British and Protestant interests—that is to say, the interests of truth, civilization, and enlightenment, and consequently, the best interests of Ireland.

"The Corporation it is which has from time immorial supplied the city with its chief magistrates. These have, with scarce any exception, received the thanks of the government of the day.

"To the Lord Mayor belongs the legal right of convening the citizens upon requisition or otherwise. He has ever exercised that right to the joy of the loyal—the confusion of traitors—the promotion of true religion and virtue—and the discomfiture of Popery. Indeed, such has been the conduct of the Corporation



of Dublin, that it has times without number received the national thanks, and has not unfrequently been the instrument, by its voice and influence, of not only stemming the tide of disaffection, but of turning the popular will into the ways of peace, order, and obedience to the laws.

“ To those who are acquainted with the history of Ireland, and the character of its population, it will be obvious, that it was to its Protestantism that the Corporation owed the power (to say nothing of the inclination) to accomplish these goodly purposes.

“ Before we quit this part of the subject, it may not be improper to remark, that the Corporations originally were connected with the trade of the City. In Popish times, and for some time subsequent to the Reformation, none were allowed to trade in each line of business but those who were *free* of the respective *Guilds*. The liberty that has grown out of the diffusion of true religion has happily removed these restrictions. Trade is now, so far as the Corporation is concerned, free in the City of Dublin. The being a freeman of any Guild, therefore, simply indicates that the individual is (ordinarily) an hereditary Protestant, and that he is therefore, or ought to be, a person of good moral conduct, loyal and true. We come to consider—

#### “ II. THE PROPOSED REFORM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

“ And here, addressing ourselves to the common sense of plain people, we shall not allow ourselves to occupy them by mere detail. We shall simply dwell upon principles—indeed we may say upon one single principle, but still it is an all-important one.—Our objection to the proposed reform mainly grows out of this

principle. If the Corporation Reform bill were faultless in other respects, (which it can be easily showed not to be), but if it were, inasmuch as it sins against this great principle, we are irreconcilably opposed to it. If it had merits then—great merits (which we repeat it has not,) these would not avail ; for it destroys the *exclusive Protestantism of the body*. It substitutes a qualification by property for qualification by character, it lets in Popery, and therefore it will ultimately swamp the Protestantism of the Corporation.

“ Protestants cannot act with Papists, where Protestant interests are concerned, with a due regard to the security of those Protestant interests. If, therefore, we were compelled by law to act with Papists, *we* must be the sufferers. Now for the results of this reform—

“ 1st. *We are convinced that it will have a crippling effect upon trade and commerce.* The genius of Popery is excommunicative ; it is a system that subjects the liberty of individuals to the popular will. Its votaries are subject to its priests ; its priests habituate them to marshal themselves in such a manner as that they may be able by combined agency to gratify both their own selfishness and that of their priests. By the proposed reform, Trades' Unions would be legalized, monopolies would be established, the man who would not please the majority would be driven from the business of life. Popish Corporations would be made the instruments of driving Protestants into exile, in order that they might escape destitution. Many extraordinary facts demonstrative of what is here alleged, might be brought forward, did the time allow of it.

“ 2ndly. *It will render the voice of Ireland altogether Popish.* With what likelihood of success will Protestant requisitionists call upon a Popish Lord Mayor, to convene the citizens for the effectuation of a Protestant object? Is it not perfectly obvious, that he would not only not use his influence to accomplish such an object, but that he would strenuously exert that influence to overthrow it? Unquestionably, it is. If the Protestants will meet, in that case, they must do so merely in a sectarian character : whereas, on the other hand, let Popish requisitionists claim a meeting of the citizens, for the *Repeal of the Union*, or the *total overthrow of the Protestant Church*, or for the *repeal of the laws which pronounce Popery idolatrous*, or for the *establishment of Popish institutions*, or for the *building of Popish Chapels*, or for the *legalizing of Popish processions* ; and who will say that a Chief Magistrate who will owe his power in most cases to the priests, (certainly none could attain to power in opposition to them,) who will say that such a magistrate would not comply with the requisition. Thus the legal voice of Ireland will be in effect that of the Popish priests.

“ The Lord Mayor of Dublin will then be the President of *Popish* schools, will be the Chairman at the meeting of *Popish* religious societies, will lay the first stone of *Popish* chapels, will throw the weight of his influence—that is to say, the weight of the influence of a British magistrate, into the scale with whatever is *Popish*, and therefore “idolatrous and damnable” (*Homily on Peril of Idolatry* ;) against everything that is essentially Protestant, and therefore accordant with the Word of God.

“ 3rdly. *It will naturally hinder the progress of religious truth in the land.* No man that is instructed in the Holy Scriptures’



will hesitate for one moment to allow the vast importance of a bold and fearless exhibition both of Protestant truth and of Popish error, in the way of lectures, public addresses, and appeals. But does not past experience warrant us to believe that Popish magistrates might, in the progress of events, very materially prevent such modes of proceeding? It would be only necessary that a few Popish householders should come forward, and swear that they apprehended a breach of the peace from such addresses, and the magisterial tool would be found ready either to forbid the work, or to allow the informations to be verified by the violence of a Popish mob, and to the cost of the obstinate Protestant speaker. Heretofore, the Court-houses and the Corporation-halls have afforded open doors to the preaching of the Gospel—they have been appropriated, when not otherwise occupied (parts of them at least) to the useful purposes of Protestant Sunday Schools, and Protestant associations. The admission of Popery into the Corporations will prevent all this. So far from being allowed to subserve the interests of Protestantism, they would be used to advance Popery. In effect, the countenance and the aid of the municipal authorities would be at the service of the priests, both for the propagation of error and the obstruction of the progress of truth.

4thly. *The proposed Reform will excite the bitterest ebullitions of party feeling.* The measure is constructed upon the supposition, that it is possible to amalgamate the Popish and the Protestant population of our towns—that if the law ceased to recognise the religious difference that exists between Popery and Protestantism, Protestants and Papists would cordially unite—that a legal juxta-position of these opposites would lead them to a perfect agreement with each other. We do not think that we

shall be wrong in saying, that such a notion is at variance with all sound experience of the human character. Irish Protestants have been brought up, and they will continue to be brought up, in the deepest, because the most well-grounded, horror of Popery. They will be taught to cherish with gratitude the recollection of those triumphs which God has in the past times given to their faith—the true faith of the Gospel, to their forefathers who professed it, and who welcomed death in every form rather than relinquish it. They will be instructed to believe that such grateful commemoration, as it is the law of the land, is also religious duty; they will continue to learn from God's Word, that so far are fellowship and union with Papists from being in accordance with his will, that they are directly opposed to it; the dictate of holy Scripture being, 'Come out from them and be separate.' In fact, the Protestants love that which the Papists hate, and vice versa. Protestants will continue fondly to cherish the *Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory of the Great and Good King William—the triumphs of Aughrim and the Boyne—the defeat of Popish treachery and gunpowder treason*—and all those memorable interpositions of a gracious Providence, which on the occasion referred to and other similar ones, have illustrated the revealed will of God in reference to those great religious questions which agitate society, not merely in Ireland but throughout the whole world—all these recollections they will fondly cherish. What then, we would seriously ask, is to be expected as the result of bringing together communities separated by such impassable barriers of feeling and prejudice? That they should coalesce is impossible. Those who take the scriptural views of Popery, which are taken by the fundamental laws of the empire, would regard coalition with a system that is idolatrous and anti-christian, not as an advantage, but as a calamity. We desire for

ourselves and our posterity, that our abhorrence of Popery may be as lasting as our love of liberty and truth, as our detestation of darkness, falsehood, and slavery. Such being the state of mind which animates the parties, we conceive that the attempt at a political junction of them, so far from being successful, must lead only to confusion and disorder—to bitterness and animosity, to say nothing of the practical results of such a state of things.

Upon the whole, then, we earnestly deprecate a system of legislation which proceeds upon a forgetfulness or a disregard of the sacred principles involved in the above statements, in the framing of which the rights of property have not been more entirely set at nought than the demands of truth, religion, and *just feeling*.

But it will be said there has been Corporation reform in England and Scotland. Is it to be asserted that there shall be no Corporation reform in Ireland? By no means. We concede the propriety of reform in the largest sense—let it only be such reform as is consistent with truth and principle, which brings us to consider

“III.—THE SORT OF REFORM THAT THE IRISH CORPORATIONS ADMIT OF.

“Reform the Corporations as much as you choose, *provided* you do it *wisely*, and retain that *Protestantism* in its integrity, which has been, and is, their distinctive characteristic. It would be endless to enumerate the various improvements that laws, conceived in an enlightened spirit, might effect in these ancient



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shall be wrong in saying, that such a notion is at variance with all sound experience of the human character. Irish Protestants have been brought up, and they will continue to be brought up, in the deepest, because the most well-grounded, horror of Popery. They will be taught to cherish with gratitude the recollection of those triumphs which God has in the past times given to their faith—the true faith of the Gospel, to their forefathers who professed it, and who welcomed death in every form rather than relinquish it. They will be instructed to believe that such grateful commemoration, as it is the law of the land, is also religious duty; they will continue to learn from God's Word, that so far are fellowship and union with Papists from being in accordance with his will, that they are directly opposed to it; the dictate of holy Scripture being, 'Come out from them and be separate.' In fact, the Protestants love that which the Papists hate, and vice versa. Protestants will continue fondly to cherish the *Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory of the Great and Good King William—the triumphs of Aughrim and the Boyne—the defeat of Popish treachery and gunpowder treason*—and all those memorable interpositions of a gracious Providence, which on the occasion referred to and other similar ones, have illustrated the revealed will of God in reference to those great religious questions which agitate society, not merely in Ireland but throughout the whole world—all these recollections they will fondly cherish. What then, we would seriously ask, is to be expected as the result of bringing together communities separated by such impassable barriers of feeling and prejudice? That they should coalesce is impossible. Those who take the scriptural views of Popery, which are taken by the fundamental laws of the empire, would regard coalition with a system that is idolatrous and anti-christian, not as an advantage, but as a calamity. We desire for



measure should be repealed, which has already done almost irreparable mischief, and is hurrying us on to still more. We conclude, in fact, not that Papists are fit to be members of our Protestant Corporations, because they have been admitted into the legislature, but that, because having been admitted to be legislators, they have falsified all their pledges, broken all their oaths, and trampled under foot all their covenants,—we conclude, that we should not only not surrender any more, but that we should firmly, perseveringly, and, we trust we may say, successfully, look for the recovery of those advantages which we lost, not by our own consent, but by mistaken liberality on the part of those we confided in. Hence, brethren, our cry is “NO SURRENDER.” We will not be consenting parties to the violation of principle. If our Protestant Corporations must perish (which we fondly hope, through our united exertions and the blessing of God, will not be the case), we will, at least, have the satisfaction of not being consenting parties to their extinction.

“Brethren, you agree with us—we are convinced you do : You will not allow the Popish adversary to put his foot upon our neck—you will not endure the ascendancy of a system, which we have truly sworn to be idolatrous—a system that is the source of all the woes of Ireland. You will not ! Then stand with us, and bring these our views before the legislature and the country—first, by Parochial Petitions—secondly, by Congregational Petitions—thirdly, by Petitions from our Protestant Associations and Societies—fourthly, by Meetings and Addresses—and fifthly, by Private Remonstrances, when they would come with an influence, made to your Representatives—Petition earnestly and boldly, that the dangers which threaten us and our Holy Church may be withstood and resisted, and we have not the slightest

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ourselves and our posterity, that our abhorrence of Popery may be as lasting as our love of liberty and truth, as our detestation of darkness, falsehood, and slavery. Such being the state of mind which animates the parties, we conceive that the attempt at a political junction of them, so far from being successful, must lead only to confusion and disorder—to bitterness and animosity, to say nothing of the practical results of such a state of things.

Upon the whole, then, we earnestly deprecate a system of legislation which proceeds upon a forgetfulness or a disregard of the sacred principles involved in the above statements, in the framing of which the rights of property have not been more entirely set at nought than the demands of truth, religion, and *just feeling*.

But it will be said there has been Corporation reform in England and Scotland. Is it to be asserted that there shall be no Corporation reform in Ireland? By no means. We concede the propriety of reform in the largest sense—let it only be such reform as is consistent with truth and principle, which brings us to consider

“III.—THE SORT OF REFORM THAT THE IRISH CORPORATIONS ADMIT OF.

“Reform the Corporations as much as you choose, *provided* you do it *wisely*, and retain that *Protestantism* in its integrity, which has been, and is, their distinctive characteristic. It would be endless to enumerate the various improvements that laws, conceived in an enlightened spirit, might effect in these ancient



bodies. We shall merely touch on a few heads, which being very obvious, at once suggest themselves to the mind—viz.:

“1st. Let a provision be made for the increase of the number and respectability of the Freemen, being Protestant, so as that they may be made to comprise, if possible, all the sound part of the Protestant population.

“2dly. Let the law provide for a watchful surveillance of the Corporate property, so as that any disposition, if such should unhappily exist, to trifle with, or squander it, might effectually be met, and the usefulness of those bodies, so far as it may grow out of ample funds, be as effectually promoted as possible.

“3rdly. Let the law secure an application of surplus funds to the purpose of checking the growth of the monstrous evil, *Popery*, on sound scriptural principles, according to those methods which wisdom would abundantly suggest to a Christian Legislature.

“4thly. The provision of additional Church accommodation has been largely accomplished by the Corporation of Liverpool, for instance, and by various other Corporations in the sister country. Why, under an improved system of management, might not the Irish Protestant Corporation be similarly distinguished?

“5thly. Reformed Corporations might be made to work more effectually for the improvement of our towns, and,

“6thly. For the augmentation of the value of such institutions as are dependent on them, such for example, as the Blue Coat

Hospital in Dublin, and the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in Waterford.

“ 7thly. Let an Irish Municipal Corporation Bill provide for the improved administration of justice,—and,

“ 8thly. For the improvement of prison discipline, according to the admirable discoveries on this subject acted on in America and elsewhere. In a word, let the Bill make any and every alteration which the legislature in its wisdom may deem fit, but let it not proceed to break down the barriers that exist between truth and falsehood—between Idolatry and Christian worship—between Christ and Antichrist—between God and Belial. But,

“ IV.—AND LASTLY, WE WOULD OFFER A FEW WORDS FOR THE REMOVAL OF DIFFICULTIES, AND IN ANSWER TO POSSIBLE OBJECTIONS.

“ How, it may be asked, is it possible to suppose that a Reform Bill, conceived in the spirit of this address, should pass a legislature constituted as ours at present is? We are free to confess, that this does appear to be a difficulty. But, brethren, because this difficulty is in the way, should we despair of the preservation of those institutions which our forefathers bled and died to establish and maintain? Shall we put out of view that omnipotent and all disposing power who has hitherto preserved us and our holy religion, and who assures us, that he will never leave or forsake those who trust in him? We admit that there are difficulties in the way; but He on whom we repose has infinite and unthought of resources at his command in order to controul them. We have attentively considered the nature of those

difficulties. We candidly admit their existence—yet we see that there are within our reach abundant means to enable us to overcome them. We conceive that it is our part rather to act upon the dictates of duty, than to allow our exertions to be paralyzed by a consideration of the difficulties that lie in the way of it. Therefore it is that we take our stand upon the rock—the immoveable rock of Christian principle, and earnestly implore and exhort you, to take your stand along with us—to render us the advantage of your aid and countenance, and to grant us the benefit of appeals made in our favour both to the Court and to the Parliament.

“ It has been objected to us, that it is quite inconsistent to allege that Papists may be members of the imperial legislature, and to deny them Corporate rights in our municipal towns. We would admit our inconsistency if we were chargeable with these two assertions—but we are not. We hold now, as we did then, that the concession of 1829 was a deplorable infringement on the long tried constitution of the realm. The evils predicted from it have been more than realised—not a single one of its promised benefits has resulted. It has reduced the efficiency of the Irish Church in many ways—it has disbanded a large portion of its hierarchy—it has confiscated a large portion of its property—it has originated a popular clamour for its entire extinction—that is to say, for the ascendancy of Popery in the land—and it now urges for national adoption its daring demands on the alternative of the Dismemberment of the Empire. Property and life are more insecure in Ireland than ever. Party spirit more exasperated. Peace less prevalent. Agitation more violent. We, therefore, conclude, not that our Corporations should be made Popish, because the Parliament has been rendered so, but that that fatal



measure should be repealed, which has already done almost irreparable mischief, and is hurrying us on to still more. We conclude, in fact, not that Papists are fit to be members of our Protestant Corporations, because they have been admitted into the legislature, but that, because having been admitted to be legislators, they have falsified all their pledges, broken all their oaths, and trampled under foot all their covenants,—we conclude, that we should not only not surrender any more, but that we should firmly, perseveringly, and, we trust we may say, successfully, look for the recovery of those advantages which we lost, not by our own consent, but by mistaken liberality on the part of those we confided in. Hence, brethren, our cry is “NO SURRENDER.” We will not be consenting parties to the violation of principle. If our Protestant Corporations must perish (which we fondly hope, through our united exertions and the blessing of God, will not be the case), we will, at least, have the satisfaction of not being consenting parties to their extinction.

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hesitation in believing that that Gracious God, who has held the shield of his protection over us heretofore, will manifest his power on our behalf, and maintain to us, and to our children, and to our childrens' children, that glorious ascendancy which is our proper inheritance as Christians, and which we have no doubt the sole trials through which we have been brought to pass, will have taught us to use for the promotion of the best interests of those who falsely regard us as their enemies—namely, the Roman Catholics of Ireland and of the Empire.

“ARCHER AND LONG,  
“ *Town Clerks.*

“City Assembly House,  
Dublin, Feb. 6, 1830.”









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